

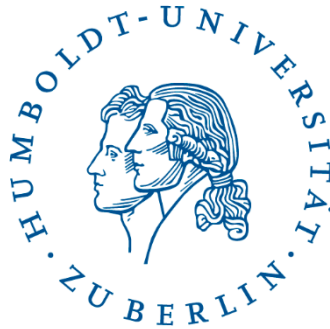
**The Sympotic Songs of Elephantine (P. Berol. 13270).  
New Edition, Translation, and Commentary.**

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

eingereicht an der Philosophischen Fakultät II  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin



M.A. Valeria Tezzon

Datum der Verteidigung: 13/11/2017

Prof. Dr.-Ing. Dr. Sabine Kunst

Prof. Dr. Ulrike Vedder

Präsidentin  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Dekanin  
der Philosophischen Fakultät II

Gutachter:

Prof. Dr. Markus Asper

Prof. Dr. Fabian Reiter

## Zusammenfassung

Das Thema der vorliegenden Dissertation ist eine Studie des Papyrus der Berliner Papyrussammlung *P.Berol.* 13270 und der darin enthaltenen Verse. Die Arbeit gliedert sich in drei Teile. Der erste Teil, der die Beschreibung des Fundkontextes und des Papyrus, sowie die Kontextualisierung des Papyrus im Rahmen der Symposien im hellenistischen Ägypten enthält, zielt darauf ab, eine neue Gesamtinterpretation des Textes zu entwickeln. Durch eine Analyse der Sprache, des Stils und des Inhalts des Verses konnte ich zwei thematische und stilistische Einheiten identifiziert: der erste Abschnitt (Zeile 1-8) besteht aus dem Anfang eines Chorliedes, der von Frauen gesungen wird, in dem eine lange sympotische Metapher verwendet wird. Der Stil wird durch ein sehr allusives und metaphorisches Lexikon aufgebaut. Stil und Dialekt, die in dem ersten Teil des Verses verwendet werden, sind kompatibel mit den Chorliedern des VI.-V. Jahrhundert B. C., da zahlreiche Parallelen und Assonanzen and die Lieder Pindars, Bacchylides' und Ibycus' nachgewiesen werden können. Der Text in Zeile 9 beginnt mit einer inhaltlichen und stilistischen Änderung. Die folgenden Zeilen enthalten einen zweiten Abschnitt von Versen: es handelt sich um das sehr oft in sympotischem Kontext verwendete Bild des Schiffes im Sturm. Darüberhinaus ist der zweite Abschnitt der Verse von einem weniger aufwändigen Stil geprägt. Die letzten zehn Zeilen, die unter der *Paragraphos* liegen, enthalten eine Elegie, die dem Rahmen der sympotischen normativen Elegien angehört und die für eine Definition des sympotisches ethos relevant ist. Im zweiten Teil habe ich eine neue diplomatische Transkription, eine kritische Edition und Übersetzung des Textes erstellt. Der dritte Teil besteht aus eines sprachlich-literarischen Kommentars, der Texterklärungen sowie eine gründliche Diskussion möglicher Parallelstellen.

## Abstract

This work provides a comprehensive study of a papyrus of the Berlin Papyrus Collection (P.Berol. 13270) and of verses contained therein. The work is divided into three sections. Given a description of the context of found and of the papyrus itself, the first part aims to develop a new overall interpretation of the text and frames the manufact within the context of the symposium in Hellenistic Egypt. By analyzing language, style, and content of the verses, I identified two thematic and stylistic units: a first section (lines 1-8) consists of the beginning of a women's chorus song where an extensive sympotial metaphor is employed. The style features a very allusive and metaphorical lexicon. Both style and dialect used in the first part of the verse are compatible with the choral songs of

the VI.-V. Century B. C., as numerous parallels and assonances to the songs Pindars, Bacchylides 'and Ibycus' can be detected. Starting from line 9, the text drastically changes both in content and style. The following lines contain a second section of verses featuring the image of the ship in the storm. Moreover, the second unit is characterized by a less riddling diction. The last ten lines written below the paragraphos contain an elegy that can be ascribed to the category of sympotic normative elegies and that is relevant to a definition of the sympotic ethos. In the second part of my work, I have provided a new diplomatic transcription, a critical edition, and translation of the text. The third part consists of a linguistic-literary commentary, which provides explanations of the text as well as a thorough discussion of possible parallel passages.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Markus Asper, for his support, knowledge, advice and the continual prompt responses to the questions and queries that I posed throughout my time as Ph.D. student. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Fabian Reiter, whose detailed corrections and helpful comments guided me towards the final version of my work.

I am also deeply grateful to all the scholars I had the chance to exchange my thoughts with and who repeatedly showed their enthusiasm towards my thesis. I want to thank Prof. Dr. Elena Esposito, for her constant support and Prof. Dr. Federico Condello, who friendly shared his thoughts about the topics discussed in this thesis. I'd like to express my appreciation to Prof. Dr. Ian Kwapistz and Prof. Dr. Benedetto Bravo for giving me the opportunity to publicly present my work in its very early stage. I need to thank my colleagues and friends for sharing all the happy and rewarding moments throughout our time as students, as well as the tough ones.

A big thank you goes to my family for being my inspiration. Their continuous support and encouragement made my thesis possible.

Finally, a special word of thanks goes to Nicholas for his care and patience during the final stage of my studies.

## Preface

This work provides a comprehensive study of *P. Berol.* 13270 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1924; *LDAB* 6927) and of verses contained therein. Since the publication of the *editio princeps* by Wilamowitz in 1907 until today, strictly papyrological and palaeographical matters, as well as the structure of the text and its literary aspect, do not fail to arouse the interest of papyrological and philological studies.

In order to offer extensive information, my work opens by providing an analysis both of the object itself and of the palaeographical data, not without proposing some original suggestions. Then, the editions, even partial ones, of the text recorded on *P. Berol.* 13270 will be considered. This operation aims at problematizing the aspects that have caused most debate and, on the other hand, it also aims at highlighting the significant progress in the studies of the Songs of Elephantine.

What may look like a *pars destruens* is followed by a *pars construens* aiming at a different and innovative interpretive hypothesis. I decided to proceed basing my interpretative proposal strictly on an analysis of the text, in all its aspects, and trying not to constrain my reading to elements that in the past have been taken for granted by most editors. Such analysis is then compared with the evidence available to the graphic aspects of the text column. Trying to prudently stick to these elements, I propose, therefore, a new contextualization of the text in the ties of lyric production, an edition, a translation and a commentary.

## Table of contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
1. The papyrus .....	2
2. <i>Status quaestionis</i> .....	15
3. A new proposal .....	22
4. Dithyrambic diction .....	39
5. The elegy .....	45
6. A symposium .....	53
<b>Text</b> .....	68
1. Diplomatic transcription .....	69
2. Edition .....	71
3. The text .....	73
4. Metrical scheme .....	74
5. Translation .....	75
<b>Commentary</b> .....	76
1. Lyric verses .....	77
2. The elegy .....	95
<b>Conclusions</b> .....	102
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	106



## Introduction



## 1. The papyrus

«So schob sie ihr manchmal abgeschriebene Federn unter,  
um sie auf einen freieren Zug der Handschrift zu leiten;  
aber auch diese waren bald wieder scharf geschnitten. »  
J. W. Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*

The island of Elephantine – nowadays known as Yeb – is situated on the south border of Egypt, near Nubia and belongs to today's Aswan area. It is the region of the first cataract of the Nile and, therefore, an important commercial, political, and military hub. Its strategic location has made the island home to multiethnic garrisons stationed on the territory. Indeed, according to documentary papyri, since the early years of the reign of Ptolemy I, the island of Elephantine was housing a multi-ethnic military garrison<sup>1</sup>. Different cultures succeeded each other and co-existed on the island and during various excavations, many documents in different languages – Hieratic, Aramaic, Demotic, Greek, Latin, Coptic and Arabic – were found testifying to their presence and their bequest<sup>2</sup>.

A real stratification of cultures is made evident by the very context of the discovery of *P. Berol.* 13270. As a matter of fact, O. Rubensohn's<sup>3</sup> description of the place and circumstances, which brought these texts to light, proves that the urban settlement – where the excavation took place – had also been inhabited by cultures different from the Greek one: «Papyri fanden sich in einer ganzen Anzahl von Räumen und zwar demotische und griechische unterschiedslos nebeneinander. Arabisches wurde fast gar nicht gefunden, an aramäischen Papyri, von denen ein großer Fund vor einigen Jahren in Elephantine zu Tage getreten ist (in einem Topf verwahrt), fanden sich nur einmal in einem Kellerraum zwei stark fragmentierte Stücke. [...] Das ganze Zimmer war mit Schutt erfüllt und zeigte Spuren wiederholter Übergrabung. Der Topf, der die

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schneider 1967, I 582.

<sup>2</sup> Porten-Farber 2011<sup>2</sup>, 1–27.

<sup>3</sup> Rubensohn 1907, 4f.

Papyri enthielt, stand auf einem älteren Fußboden, der in koptischer Zeit von einem ca. 1/2m höhergelegenen schlechten Estrich überdeckt worden war».

Among a large amount of ancient documents retrieved from the island of Elephantine, Greek papyri cover the range of over nine hundred years. They seem both to date back to various stages of Greek culture from 310 BC to 613 AD and to refer to distinct Greek settlements on the Egyptian island<sup>4</sup>. It is possible to trace back an initial phase when there's a lack of data related to interactions between the Greeks of Elephantine and Egyptian communities. On the other hand, a second later stage, dating from 137-136 BC, retains bilingual Greek-Demotic documents and, therefore, highlights the occurred cultural mingling.

The papyrus find took place in a private home in the south-west corner of the ancient Elephantine's Tell<sup>5</sup>. On its value, the scholar voices his disappointment rather sharply, stating that «Für die Geschichte von Elephantine interessante Funde sind in den Grabungen nicht gemacht worden»<sup>6</sup>. However, although not entirely relevant to the history of the island itself, papyrus documents, found simultaneously to our *P. Berol.* 13270, must be taken into consideration herein.

*P. Berol.* 13270 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1924; *LDAB* 6927) wrapped a package of documents, that was, in turn, inserted into a jar. The packet belongs to the first stage of the Greek settlement on the island and consists of *P. Eleph.* 1, written *transversa charta*, preserving the oldest marriage contract, dated to 310 BC, recording the marriage between Heraclides and Demeter, daughter of Leptine and Philotis of Cos, and the dowry that the bride brought as a gift. Then, the terms of the contract and its validity follow. Moreover, the names, making up the list of witnesses, show us a Greek community from disparate sources and «reflects the pan-Hellenic nature of the Alexandrian and Ptolemaic armies»<sup>7</sup>. *P. Eleph.* 2 features the last will of a couple, Dionysus and Callista, and the

---

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Porten-Farber 2011<sup>2</sup>, 386–389.

<sup>5</sup> Müller 1980, 76–79.

<sup>6</sup> Rubensohn 1907, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Porten-Farber 2011<sup>2</sup>, 408.

obligations of their offsprings towards the couple. The will is dated to 284 BC and the list of witnesses confirms the Panhellenic character of the community. *P. Eleph.* 3 (February 14<sup>th</sup> 282 BC) is dated about seven months after the similar *P. Eleph.* 4 (March 23<sup>rd</sup> 282 BC). They probably are two concubinage<sup>8</sup> contracts in which, in both cases, a Syrian woman, bearing the Greek name Elaphion<sup>9</sup> is sponsored first by Dion and pays a sum of money to ensure that Pantarkes supports her, then, under the patronage of Pantarkes, a smaller sum of money is paid to Antipatros under the same conditions: the woman should not be outraged nor enslaved, or the money should be given back plus a penalty. According to Rubensohn 1907, 19<sup>10</sup>, the documents would be relatable to the circle of the Elephantine military garrison. However, no connection with military activity can be tracked down in the texts recorded on the papyri wrapped by *P. Berol.* 13270. Therefore, the relevance of the documents and text featured in our papyrus to the circle of Macedonian soldiers remains doubtful.

What – if any – relationship exists between the documentary texts wrapped by *P. Berol.* 13270 and that papyrus is not known. Unfortunately, there is no actual connection neither on the palaeographic nor on the content levels. Most likely, the person, who ensured in the jar the package of documents *P. Eleph.* 1–4 had the intention to create a small archive<sup>11</sup>, though we do not know what the reason behind the assemblage of such documents was. As for *P. Berol.* 13270, I think its preservation is due to unforeseeable circumstances and I cannot identify any intentionality of conservation in the act of those who used the fragment to wrap the package, but rather a reason of practicality and reuse. Lacking precise relations among the materials, the reconstruction of the context

---

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Porten-Farber 2011<sup>2</sup>, 414. As Grzybek 1989 pointed out, both papyri are not sales of the same Syrian slave, but rather concubinage agreements.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Porten-Farber 2011<sup>2</sup>, 414, n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Rubensohn 1907, 19 «Wir befinden uns hier offenbar im Kreis der Söldner der Garnison von Elephantine». This is also the stance taken by Wilamowitz 1907, 56. E. Fabbro 1995, XXXIV n. 92 even pointed out that the papyrus was part of the burial goods of a soldier, which is not supported by any evidence. Cf. Müller 1980, 79 quoting Rubensohn.

<sup>11</sup> If by “archive” we actually mean a group of documents or texts deliberately preserved together in ancient times. For a discussion about the terminology cf. Posner 1972, 4f.; Franz 1993, 2; A. Jördens 1997.

that produced *P. Berol.* 13270 must be made on the basis of the limited data available from the documentary texts and the intrinsic characteristics of our papyrus.

The sheet of papyrus is of average quality. It measures 25 by 33 cm and contains 21 lines of Greek text on its *recto*. Its *verso* is blank. Right before the text column, a first *kollesis* is visible with an overlapping of 3.5 - 4 cm running from left to right. About 12 - 13 cm next to it, we have another overlapping. The text is written with carbon-based ink. The interlinear space is consistent. The first eleven lines are separated from the following ten by a *paragraphos*, and those are written in *eisthesis* of about four letters. The line breaking never occurs within words. On the left margin of the column, next to lines 7-9, we find three words one under the other ΜΟΥΝΑΙ ΕΥΦΩΠΑΤ[...] ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ.

Thanks to the high quality of the photographs provided by the new on-line Papyrusdatenbank of Berlin<sup>12</sup>, some tiny traces of ink are now detectable in the upper left corner<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, on the left margin of the papyrus, on the edge of the paper alongside line 3, a rounded stroke is clearly visible. It seems to be the final trace of a letter, most likely the last rounded upright mark of *ny*<sup>14</sup>. The lower margin is well preserved, and considerably wider than the upper margin, partially damaged.

The text has been corrected thrice. At lines 7, 10 and 20, respectively, one syllable was rubbed out; at line 6 the sequence *ει* was added *supra lineam*; all the occurrences of the *iota mutum* are written correctly; elisions are omitted in the first eleven lines, 5 *νημινεοτι*, 9 *λυεεανου*, but they are systematically used in the lines under the *paragraphos* 14 *χηδοντα*, 19 *ηδαρετη*, 21 *εργανδρων*. Except for the word *αοιδαν* written with *omega* at line 8, the text does not feature mistakes.

---

<sup>12</sup> <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/00644/>

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to Dipl. Restaurator Myriam Krutzsch who confirmed the presence of overlappings and of traces of ink on the upper left margin. Nevertheless, the traces could also be imprints of a different writing.

<sup>14</sup> Although it would be of a bigger size than the others *ny* readable in the preserved text column.

The scribe used the *paragraphos* to separate two major units of text. In the text column, no other kind of *signum* is visible, except for two dicola at l. 10. Their function in this context remains unclear<sup>15</sup>.

The hand is informal, unligatured, uneven and characterized by a sharp contrast between squarish strokes and rounded ones. A palaeographical dating to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. seems the most likely<sup>16</sup>. Turner describes the hand as an «early transitional type in which archaic forms, e. g. square E, are in process of adaptation to a rounder style more suitable to the pen»<sup>17</sup>

Schubart contended that the papyrus was a private copy written on a single sheet of papyrus and that we should read its content as a single assortment of texts<sup>18</sup>. Indeed, the sheet could have been cut down and used to write the poems. Yet, it is also possible that it was part of a roll, and that more text preceded the remaining twenty-one lines. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to establish whether the text recorded on the *recto* was written before the sheet got detached (either broke off or cut down) or after the separation, nor if the previous text was consistent with the extant column. Different theories are possible, depending on the assumptions: considering the trace of ink in the left upper margin and the size of the lower margin, the text could have been the final section of a more substantial collection of texts. Once it was broken off, it could have been reused to wrap up the packet of documents.

---

<sup>15</sup> One *dicolon* precedes the sequence εὐ at l. 10. A second *dicolon* probably follows the syllable, which Wilamowitz, 1907, 61 followed by Edmonds 1940, 581 and Page 1950, 391 interpreted at first as an exclamation performed by the audience.

<sup>16</sup> A date can be approximated simply on the basis of palaeography, cf. Turner 1980, 27; Crisci 2000, 29-62; 59. I agree with Maltomini 2001, 581 n.1, who contends that the dating to year 283/282 B.C. of the latest document in the packet should not necessarily be considered a *terminus ante quem* for *P. Berol.* 13270, because the text could have been written later and the packet might have been wrapped and stored after that date.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Turner 1980, 27. Cf. also Cavallo – Maehler 2008, 33, 39, and 45.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Schubart 1918, 125.

In 1924, Ulrich Wilcken<sup>19</sup> argued that two different persons drafted the text in *P. Berol.* 13270. In fact, he recognized two distinct handwritings: a first one “kräftig, schlicht” and a second one “kleiner, zierlicher”. According to Wilcken, a hypothetical writer wrote the text from line 1 until *πλέξομεν* in line 5. A second writer picks up with *ῥυμοις* in line 5 and goes on until *κωπτειν* or *ωπτειν* in line 17, where the first writer, unexpectedly<sup>20</sup>, goes back at work until the end of the column.



Wilcken speculated that there «sassen zwei Freunde zusammen, die abwechselnd diese Verse zum Symposion aufschrieben»<sup>21</sup>. The involvement of two writers in drafting the text in *P. Berol.* 13270 has been later acknowledged also by Seider<sup>22</sup>. In 1997, Bravo<sup>23</sup> was persuaded he had recognized in *P. Berol.* 13270 a writing exercise and carefully tried to describe the alleged turnover of scribes. He recognized one slight and delicate hand called “X” and a rather plain, perhaps less skilled one called “Y”. According to Bravo, X wrote the few traces at line 1; starting from line 2, hand Y would have written the text until the last sequence at line 5 *ῥυμοις*. At this point, hand X replaced hand Y and continued to write down until line 17. He assumed that the whole text from line 17 until the end of the column was actually written by Y using his usual *calamos*, except for the first letters, for which he temporarily borrowed a different pen.

Despite the discrepancies that we might notice throughout the handwriting, a turnover between two different writers as described by Wilcken or Bravo appears quite problematic. In fact, a remarkable point is that such

<sup>19</sup> The following year, Schubart 1925, 100 ff. attributed the “two hands” hypothesis to Zucker. Later scholars accepted it, although with some concerns, especially about the unusual turnover between the alleged writers. Cf. Maltomini 2001, 581f.

<sup>20</sup> Wilcken 1924, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Wilcken 1924, 67.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Zwei Hände lassen sich deutlich unterscheiden’, R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Band II, Stuttgart 1970, 38.

<sup>23</sup> B. BRAVO, *Un ditirambo misconosciuto (P. Berol. 13270) e ancora gli antesteria in Pannychis e simposio. Feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto*, Pisa-Roma 1997, p. 43–9, at p. 47–49.

hypothetical turnover of hands does not coincide with any variation in the content of the text, nor in its layout.

Changes of writers are rather frequent in documents that preserve a scholarly or educational activity, as the lines written by the experienced hand of a teacher are usually meant to guide the disciple, who should copy them in order to improve his writing skills<sup>24</sup>. A text could also be written twice by two different disciples, as in *P. Mich.* 1319 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2649.1; *LDAB* 976) which preserves part of the hypothesis of Euripides' *Temeneidae* written twice by two different unskilled hands.<sup>25</sup> A turnover between two or more scribes might occur also in literary anthologies or collections of texts, as in *P. Köln Gr.* XI 429-430 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1449.1; *LDAB* 10253) or *P. Oxy.* 54 3724 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1596.21+2410.11; *LDAB* 213). Of the three fragments recorded on the Cologne papyri, just the first two are both Sapphic poems. A hand featured by older angular forms, as squared epsilon and kappa, has written those poems. The third fragment, not Sapphic, is separated from the previous by a *paragraphos* and is written by a second hand<sup>26</sup>. The papyrus from Oxyrhynchus displays three different kinds of handwritings that Parsons<sup>27</sup> named A, B and C. Two of them, hand A and hand C, were involved in the writing of a collection of epigrams recorded in the papyrus<sup>28</sup>.

However, a writing exercise does not seem to be what *P. Berol.* 13270 represents, since the text flows without repetition, and the supposed turnover does not seem to suit an educational purpose. This is also why a turnover between two different students may be excluded<sup>29</sup>. Even the cooperation of two scribes seems to be doubtful since the supposed turnover doesn't match any change of content or different sections of the text column.

---

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Zalateo 1961; R. Cribiore 1996.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Luppe 1977; R. Cribiore 1996, 246.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gronewald-Daniel 2004<sup>1</sup> and Gronewald-Daniel 2004<sup>2</sup>.

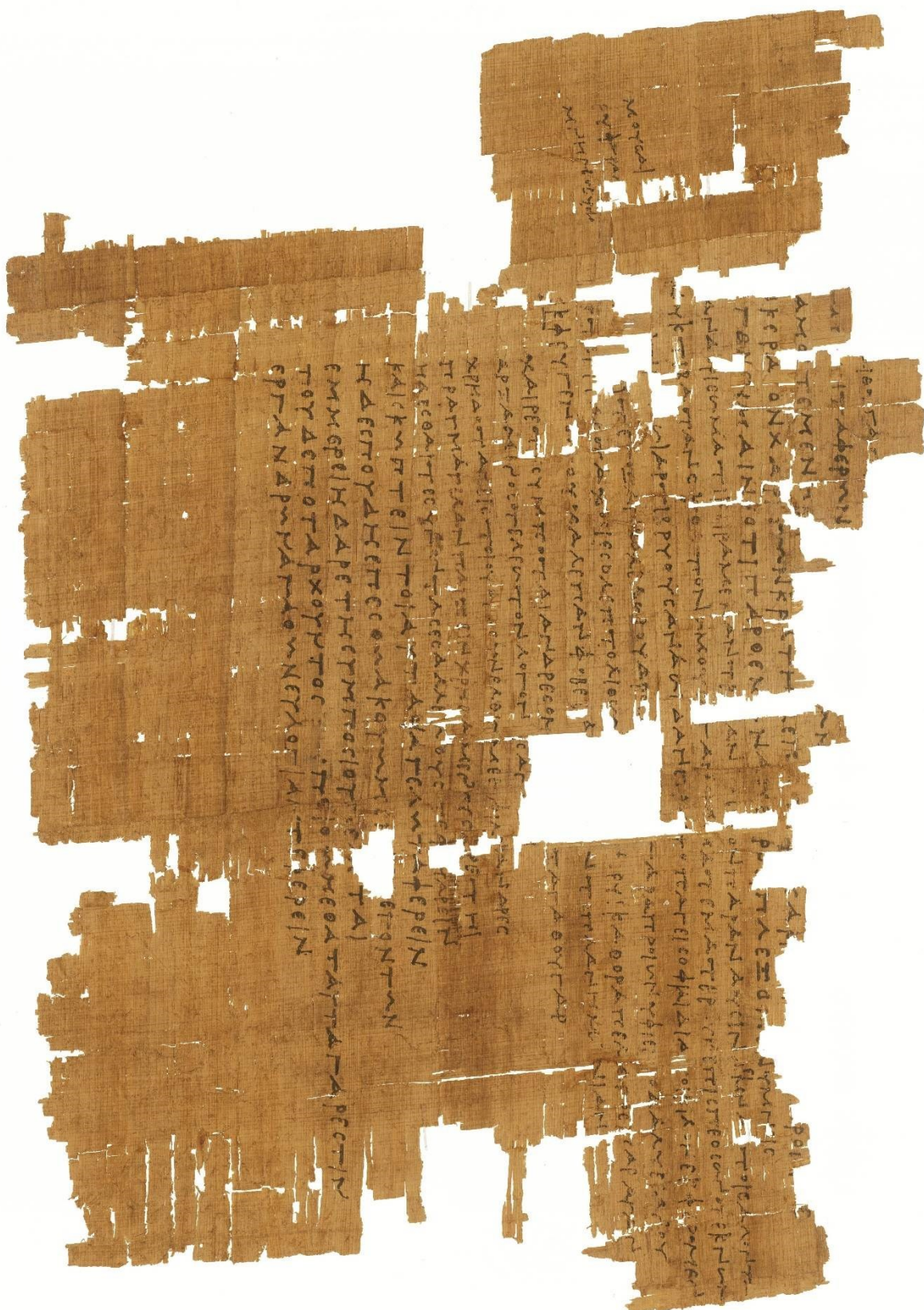
<sup>27</sup> Cf. Parsons 1987, 65–82 and Yatromanolakis 2008, 248.

<sup>28</sup> Only the first column was written by scribe A, whereas the rest of the text was written by scribe C. Scribe B wrote the short central portion of text which is not pertinent to the collection of poems.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Pernigotti-F. Maltomini 2002, 68f.

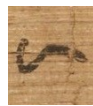
With no plausible reason to account for it, the very hypothesis of a turnover between writers must be called into question. In order to verify the involvement of two scribes, it might be worth analyzing the script in detail, trying to spot any eventual peculiarity of each hand.





The handwriting appears roughly bilinear, with verticals of *kappa*, *phi*, *psi*, *iota* and *rho* extending beyond both the base and upper line. The space between the lines is mostly regular, with a slight tendency to write each line upwards throughout the column. The *ductus* of the supposed writer X appears more fluent, whereas Y seems to write quite slowly. At times, some letters as *tau*, *kappa*, *iota*, and *rho* actually feature small little serifs, but not systematically.

The only letter that consistently appears to be written in two different ways according to the supposed changes of writer is *omega*:



X 1.6



X 1.7



Y 1.17



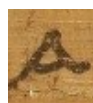
Y 1.21

However, the most remarkable difference in the handwriting throughout the column pertains to the thickness of the strokes and to the fluency of the *ductus*. By closely observing the shape of the letters and the movements that drew them, one notices that - although overall irregular - most of the letters are written in a very similar way.

- *alpha* is always written in three movements. A diagonal motion that joins a curved stroke and a crossbar:



X 1.6



X 1.12



Y 1.5



Y 1.19

- *delta* is always written in three movements. Diagonals can be rounded and the base stroke seems systematically written slightly over the baseline:



X 1.6



X 1.8



Y 1.18



Y 1.21

- both *epsilon* and *sigma* are constantly in the half moon form:



X 1.12



X 1.16



Y 1.3



Y 1.21



X 1.5



X 1.16



Y 1.18



Y 1.20

- most of the time, *pi* and *eta* present a second rounded upright mark:



X 1.16



X 1.7



Y 1.5



Y 1.18



X 1.11



X 1.15

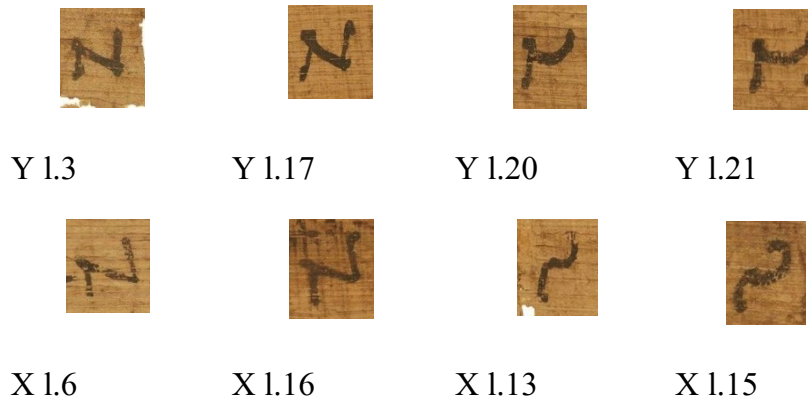


Y 1.18



Y 1.19

Moreover, discrepancies in the depiction of the letters do not constitute safe evidence of a change of writer, since they occur within the same line, or in sequences of text ascribed to just one specific hand. The letter *ny* might just prove the point: both the hypothetical hands showcase the tendency to shift from a strongly squared form to a more cursive one:



Finally, it should be stressed that the height of the writing remains unaltered even where the supposed turnover took place. All considered it might be worth considering the objective differences in the handwriting, such as the thickness of the strokes and the *ductus*, as a result of some external factors. Indeed, those variations could be related to the sharpness of the pen, and to how it is dipped in the ink<sup>30</sup>.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the writing process of the text in *P. Berol.* 13270 with certainty, I would not rule out the possibility that only one person was actually involved in the drafting of the text. After the first lines of the papyrus, as the style starts to look unrefined, probably because the pen was not in the condition to perform a good job anymore, the scribe takes care of his pen by sharpening it. At line 17 he does not feel the urge to sharpen it again, having just a few lines left to write.

As a partial conclusion, what we can infer from the context of the find and from the documentary papyri wrapped in the packet, is a scenario of a Greek community, whose members came from different areas of the motherland and did not yet feel themselves to be integrated members of the Egyptian society.

---

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Tait 1988, 477-481. Variations in the handwritings due to a blunt pen are visible in *P. Rainer* VI (MP<sup>3</sup> 0227+0425; *LDAB* 529), a wooden tablet containing the largest fragment of Callimachus' *Hecale* on the front side, and some verses of Euripides' *Phoenissae* on the backside. The tablet includes a writing exercise. The four columns on the front side are «written by one hand (not two, as supposed in the *editio princeps*) using a badly sharpened pen», R. Cribiore 1996, 247. A different hand wrote the backside.

Taking into consideration the specific features of the papyrus, its contents and *mise en page*, *P. Berol.* 13270 appears to be a personal copy which was not intended for a large circulation or public reading but rather for private purposes<sup>31</sup>.

---

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 186f.; Pernigotti-F. Maltomini 2002, 75.



## 2. Status quaestionis

The first eleven lines of the papyrus consist of a continuous flow of lyric verses (*PMG* 917a-c), which are partially damaged. The last ten lines under the *paragraphos* record a sympotic elegy (*adesp. el.* 27 W<sup>2</sup> = *adesp.* 1 G. – P.<sup>2</sup>), written in compliance with the proper colometry.

Some passages of the lyric verses, as well as the prescriptive function of the elegy itself, provide us with the opportunity to ascribe the text of *P. Berol.* 13270 to the sympotic context with a certain degree of confidence. However, in contrast to the elegy, which does not require many editorial interventions and is written in accordance to proper colometry, reading the first eleven lines is quite problematic. Not only is a clear division of the text missing, but the verses also feature lexical and stylistic peculiarities, which make the interpretation more difficult.

The *editio princeps*, provided by Wilamowitz<sup>32</sup>, had a great influence on most of the later editors. Since then, the text in the papyrus has been known as “Die Trinklieder aus Elephantine”<sup>33</sup>. He argued that the first eleven lines of the

---

<sup>32</sup> W. Schubart - U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *BKT* V/2 (1907 XV, 56-63).

<sup>33</sup> Powell published the text in the *adespota* of *Collectanea Alexandrina* (1925, 190-92); Manteuffel edited the papyrus in *De Opusculis Graecis Aegypti e Papyris Ostracis Lapidisque Collectis* (1930, 174-76); in *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* Diehl published the lyric verses among the *Scolia Anonyma* fr.30 (1942<sup>2</sup>, 189-90) and the elegy in *Anonymorum Elegiae* fr. 2 (237). There are two editions by Page: the first in *Select Papyri*, III. *Literary Papyri Poetry* (1950, 386-90; 444f.) and a second in *PMG*, fr.34 a, b, c *Carmina Convivalia* (1962, 482). The elegy is *adesp. el.* 27 W<sup>2</sup> in West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantata*, II (1992<sup>2</sup>, 12f.). C. Casgrande - E. Fabbro - E. Iskra - N. Marinčić - E. Pellizer-G. Tedeschi, *Poesia Conviviale in un papiro di Elephantina. Edizione critica e commento*, QFC IV 1983, 5-24, revised and reedited in K. Fabian-E. Pellizer-G. Tedeschi, *Οἶνῳ τὰ τεύχη. Studi triestini di poesia simposiale* (1991, 211-233); F. Ferrari, *P. Berol.* 13270. *I canti di Elephantina* in «SCO» 38, 1989, 181-227; P.W. Pestman, *The new Papyrological Primer* (1990, 70f.); B. Bravo, *Pannychis e simposio: feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto* (1997, 73); D. Gerber, *Greek Elegiac Poetry* (1990, 488f.); F. Pordomingo, *Antologías de época helenística en papiro* (2013, 163-168).

column consist of three short sympotic songs, written continuously one after the other. His suggestions are based on the three words in the left margin, which he considers as the titles of the short poems. The first three lines would feature the first song; lines 4-7 the second song and lines 7-11 the third one, without any interruption of the text flow. The conjectured restoration of the sequence at lines 4-5 κρ[ύφιόν τε π]ρόπινε / [λό]γον «“trink einen verborgenen Sinn zu (d.h. gib einen γρῖφος auf)”»<sup>34</sup> is crucial both to the reconstruction of the second song and to a comprehensive interpretation of the text column. According to Wilamowitz’ conjecture, the invitation πρόπινε κρύφιον λόγον would disclose the presence of a riddle.

Indeed, some of the verses that follow, include some obscure expressions and syntactic structures that Wilamowitz describes as “schauderhafte Katachresen” and considers appropriate for the supposed *griphos*<sup>35</sup>. The riddle would imply picking out the figure hidden behind the sequence at lines 6-7 τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν (παρθένων l. 5 *scil.*) Τροίαν κάτα παρὰ ναυσὶν ἀειμνάτοισι ἄλόντα / νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν<sup>36</sup>. The young woman the riddle is about (τὰν παρθένων) is identified by Wilamowitz as «das glückliche Ertappen und Erschnappen, die *pulchra Laverna* des Landsknechtes, des Schnapphahnes, und sie wohnt passend im Speere»<sup>37</sup>. The verses are translated as follows: “Die von den Jungfrauen, die sich mit dem Speer, ihrem Leibe, in Troja bei den ewig denkwürdigen Schiffen den nächtlichen Späher gepflückt (erbeutet) hat”. On the other hand, the identification of the *skopos* at the memorable vessels in Troy may not be a guessing game after all; of course, it would be Dolon, the Trojan spy. According to Wilamowitz, we were lucky enough to get the solution of such an elaborate riddle in the marginal words, which record the name of the supposed nymph: «Ihren Namen würden wir nicht finden, wenn nicht εὐφωρατ. . am Rande stünde, also vermutlich Ἐυφωρατίς oder Ἐυφωρατώ»<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Wilamowitz 1907, 58.

<sup>35</sup> Wilamowitz 1907, 59.

<sup>36</sup> τῶ[ ]ανκαίτον in papyrus.

<sup>37</sup> “Wo man wenigstens den Artikel τῶι κόματι verlangt” (Wilamowitz 1907, 59).

<sup>38</sup> Wilamowitz 1907, 60.

Interpreting the second word in the margin εὐφωρατ. . as the title of a second poem leads to two consequences. In the first place, the scholar initially assumes the presence of two other poems. Then, he presumes the other two words in the margin to be the titles of those poems<sup>39</sup>. Accordingly, the first poem at 1-3 would represent a short song dedicated to the Muses, and be captioned MOYCAI in the margin. The third song captioned MNHMOΣYNH would begin right after the last word of the second song at line 7, without any graphical break, where the sequence ωμουσαγανομματεματερ has been corrected in ὦ Μουσ<αν> ἀγανόμματα μάτερ, thereby creating a correspondence between the word on the margin and the main text.

Although having reached a broad consensus, Wilamowitz' interpretation is not completely convincing, even though it is really ingenious. First of all, a nymph called *Euphorato* or *Euphoratis* is not attested anywhere else<sup>40</sup>, and her involvement in the epic episode remains unclear. All narrations of Dolon's unsuccessful expedition to the Greek ships fail to mention the presence of a nymph. Secondly, the scholar's corrections just complicate a text further that is already difficult in itself. Considering the sequence of verses *δήμαινε ὅτι παρθένων ἀπείροσι πλέξομεν ὕμνοισι / τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν Τροίαν καὶ τὸν παρὰ ναυκὶν ἀειμνάστοις ἄλόντα / νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν*, the genitive plural *παρθένων* can hardly be interpreted as a partitive of a substantivated participle *τὰν κειραμέναν*. The elements are both logically and structurally too distant from each other and the genitive plural makes much more sense when referring to the hymns in dative, therefore meaning 'with hymns of young women'. Lastly, Wilamowitz' division of the text misrepresents the papyrological evidence. As throughout the first eleven lines of the column there is no sign that might suggest a passage from one poem to another. While the beginning of the supposed second song would coincide with the beginning of line 4 in the papyrus, partially in *lacuna* of about one letter, a marked interruption of the second song and the

<sup>39</sup> «Wenn Εὐφωρατίς auf diesen Spruch geht, muß Μοῦσαι der Titel des vorigen sein, Μνημοσύνη der des folgenden», Wilamowitz 1907, 60.

<sup>40</sup> A complete overview of the types, names and occurrences of Nymphs is collected in Larson 2001.



beginning of the third is missing. The presence of the *paragraphos* and the *eisthesis*, both used to separate the lyric verses from the elegy, does not conform to such poor accuracy. Moreover, even if private redactions of assortments of texts may not necessarily meet severe editorial requirements, some indication of the organization of single poems within the text might be expected<sup>41</sup>.

Even maintaining Wilamowitz' division of the text, later editors rejected the hypothesis about a reference to a nymph, and they proposed a slightly different interpretation of lines 4-7.

In the 1983 edition provided by Pellizer - Tedeschi<sup>42</sup>, Wilamowitz' conjecture at lines 4-5 κρ[ύφιόν τε π]ρόπι[ν]ε λόγον has been replaced by κρ[ήγυόν τε π]ρόπι[ν]ε λόγον (cf. Commentary *ad.loc.*), which is, however, not supported by concrete *loci similes*. The problematic sequence τὰν δοριζώματι κειραμέναν Τροίαν was corrected with τὰν δορὶ κόματα κειραμέναν Τροίαν and translated as "Troia recisa nei corpi con la lancia"<sup>43</sup>.

In 1989, Franco Ferrari published a complete and accurate study of *P. Berol.* 13270, complemented by a photographic reproduction of the papyrus. On the one hand, he kept Wilamowitz' partition of the first eleven lines in three distinctive poems, along with their (supposed) respective titles on the margin, and he maintained the interpretation of the verses as a riddle. On the other hand, he adopted the correction δορὶ κόματα instead of the *hapax* δοριζώματι<sup>44</sup>. According to Ferrari, the riddle would require identifying the νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν at line 7. The simplicity of the riddle, together with the obvious recognition of Dolon, would represent the actual reasons behind the title εὐφωατ., that has been explained as 'easy to find out', (although, the compound is not attested, cf. *GE* s.v. φωάω 2)<sup>45</sup>.

The strongest arguments against the interpretation of Wilamowitz came from the review of the *editio princeps*, published the following year by Otto

---

<sup>41</sup> Cf. E. Esposito 2005, 15-18; F. Pordomingo 2013, 18-20.

<sup>42</sup> With the contribution of C. Casagrande, E. Fabbro, E. Iscra, and N. Marinçiz, cf. «QFC» IV (1983) 5-24.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. E. Fabbro 1983, 11. The conjecture was proposed by Gianotti, *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 196-199.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 200. The same interpretation was given by Manteuffel 1930, 60.

Crusius: «Aber sicher scheint es doch nicht, dass wir hier “Skolien”, d.h. kurze Einzellieder vor uns haben, und dass die links an den Rand gesetzten Wörter die Titel dieser Lieder seien, schon weil diese Wörter dicht untereinander stehen, nicht neben den von Wilamowitz angesetzten Liederanfängen»<sup>46</sup>.

Such reasonable objections were disregarded, and the authority of the *editio princeps* remained unscathed, at least until the publication of a new edition of the text by Benedetto Bravo in 1997. His work featured two major steps forward in the study of *P. Berol.* 13270. First, the scholar argues that we can better explain the words on the left as a comment on line 7 of the main text  $\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ . Bravo reads the sequence in the text column as a common haplography for  $\hat{\omega}$  Μοῦς<ᾱν> ἄγανόμματα μάτερ. The first word in the margin MOYCAI might be a lemma for a genitive plural Μοῦςᾱν in the main text, and its interpretation would be  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\tau[\omicron\nu]$ : Μνημοσύνη “facile da scoprire: Mnemosyne”<sup>47</sup>. Then, rejecting the three-title theory, Bravo does not see any convincing evidence to support a plurality of texts (the *skolia*). Therefore, considering the layout of the text as well, he argues that the eleven-line unit belongs to a single composition: a dithyrambic poem, in honor of Dionysus<sup>48</sup>, meant for the first day of the *Anthesteria*<sup>49</sup>.

According to Bravo, a chorus of *sympotai* is celebrating a ritual that takes place in a  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  consecrated to Dionysus<sup>50</sup>; at lines 1-3, the chorus refers to the founding myth of the ritual celebrated during the festival, the mythical arrival of Dionysus from the sea to Athens, where Semachos and his daughter host him<sup>51</sup>. At lines 4 -7, the same chorus invites the *symposiarchos* to bring a toast to a *logos* ( $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\nu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu$ ) and to announce ( $\varsigma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ ) the epic content of the song they are going to perform ( $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\alpha\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ). The mention of  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  ‘endless songs performed by young women’ in dative would be characterized by a temporal

---

<sup>46</sup> Crusius 1907, 1310.

<sup>47</sup> Bravo 1997, 61.

<sup>48</sup> Bravo 1997, 82-83.

<sup>49</sup> Bravo 1997, 86-91.

<sup>50</sup> Bravo 1997, 92.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Bravo 1997, 84-92; Roscher 1909-1915 s.v. *Semachos*.

connotation: the dithyrambic performance of the *sympotai* is going to take place, when at the same time a ritual typical to women, a *pannychis*<sup>52</sup>, is celebrated. After an invocation to Mnemosyne at lines 7-8, the chorus sings addressing the god that is coming on a ship from the sea, lines 9-11 παραπροΐών ὑφίει [π]όδα *etc*<sup>53</sup>.

The interpretation proposed by Bravo is ground-breaking and finally takes a stance different from Wilamowitz, but «despite his editorial rigor, it will convince few scholars»<sup>54</sup> for the following reasons. Both the mention of the god and the reconstruction of the myth, in fact, are based on the reading of the first three lines of the papyrus, which are extremely damaged. At line 3 [.]α μοι τεμένη β[.].....]ων Bravo thinks to read the indication of a *temenos* consecrated to Dionysus [ τ]άμοι τεμένη βρ[ό]μι. The θυγάτη[ on line 1 is supposed to be the daughter of Semachos, who during the kingdom of Amphiktyon hosted the god and received a deer skin (*nebris*) from him as a gift. Yet, except for the mention of a daughter, there is no other clear evidence in the text that might recall that episode.

As for the circumstances of the performance, we are not sure whether dithyrambic choruses took place during the *Anthesteria* or not. The hypothesis of dithyrambic performances during the *Anthesteria* was originally formulated by Jane Harrison<sup>55</sup>, who identifies the dithyramb as a “spring song”, a lyric genre appropriate for spring festivals. However, no ancient source conclusively supports such an interpretation and the text in *P. Berol.* 13270 does not produce any convincing evidence connecting the poem to the celebration.

A recent article by J. Kwapisz<sup>56</sup> sheds new light on the reading of the three words on the left margin of the text column. Most likely, the words comment upon the main text, but what has always been read as a final *iota* of a

---

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Bravo 1997, 92.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Bravo 1997, 94.

<sup>54</sup> Kadletz 1998.

<sup>55</sup> J. Harrison 1912, 418. The theory is based on controversial interpretations of both a Pindar fragment 75 SM, 14-19 and a red-figure crater dated to 425 BC., conserved in Copenhagen NM Inv. 13817.

<sup>56</sup> Kwapisz 2008, 45-46.

nominative plural MOYCAI might instead be a vertical line, which would have been drawn in order to separate the *lemma* and the *interpretamentum*. Kwapisz's text runs Μουσα / εὐφώρατ[ov] Μνημοσύνη, "Muse: obviously, Mnemosyne"<sup>57</sup>. Kwapisz' observation is certainly interesting; nevertheless, there is no evidence supporting it. Even if the stroke might be one of the *signa* that Kathleen McNamee described as "simple pen stroke, usually written /, although other versions occur"<sup>58</sup>, it would represent a very early occurrence of this sign, that appears instead to be more commonly used not earlier than a few centuries later<sup>59</sup>. Moreover, the stroke resembles the otherwise occurring forms of *iota*, i.e., at l. 21 εὐλογίαν, and it directly follows the preceding letter.

Taking the position of the words into consideration, I would not regard them as titles of three different poems, but rather as an obscure marginal note<sup>60</sup>. What is most important, we do not necessarily have to assume a relation between the words on the margin and the ones in the text column. In fact, we cannot exclude that the note refers to a previous, missing section of the text.

Rather than on external or graphical elements, the interpretation of the text column should be based on its contents, language, and stylistic peculiarities. Moreover, I would not force the text to fit within the narrow constraints of a unitary arrangement: the first eleven lines above the *paragraphos* certainly have to be divided according to the style and the content of the verses<sup>61</sup>.

---

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *Suda* 3805 Εὐφώρατον· φανερόν.

<sup>58</sup> K. McNamee 1992, 17-18.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*; cf. *P. Oxy.* XI 1371 (MP<sup>3</sup> 0145; *LDAB* 372) and *P. Oxy.* XX 2258 (MP<sup>3</sup> 0186; *LDAB* 523), respectively dated to fifth and sixth century.

<sup>60</sup> External or internal titles (or both, cf. Luppe 1997 and Bastianini 1995) of poems are usually adopted in professional rolls. The position of the three marginal words in *P. Berol.* 13270 can remind us of the practice to write titles in the ἄγραφον, the blank space that precedes the first column of a professional copy. This practice, though, is attested for rolls intended for a public circulation and not before I CE. Moreover, "prerogative dei titoli iscritti nell'ἄγραφον è la completezza dei dati librari, dovuta essenzialmente alla maggior superficie scrivibile a disposizione del copista", Caroli 2007, 55, but this is not the case with *P. Berol.* 13270.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Pernigotti-F. Maltomini 2002, 73.

### 3. A new proposal

Although the practice of proposing riddles during symposia is well attested<sup>62</sup>, any attempt to follow Wilamowitz's interpretation of the verses recorded in *P. Berol.* 13270 as a sympotic γρίφος could be misleading. There are substantial differences between “riddle” (γρίφος or αἵνιγμα<sup>63</sup>) and “riddling diction”, that affect both the creation process of their phrases and the audience reception. According to the definition of γρίφος given by Clearchus of Soli<sup>64</sup>,

Clearch. fr. 86 Wehrli γρίφος πρόβλημά ἐστι  
παιστικόν, προστακτικὸν τοῦ διὰ ζητήσεως εὔρεῖν  
τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ προβληθὲν τιμῆς ἢ ἐπιζημίου χάριν  
εἰρημένον.

“a riddle is a facetious question that requires one to use a process of intellectual inquiry to discover what is being referred to, and that is articulated with an eye to a reward or punishment” (Tr. S. Douglas Olson)<sup>65</sup>

A riddle is formulated according to a particular procedure, as featured in Athenaeus<sup>66</sup> and, above all, it is always meant to be solved. In contrast, a text characterized by riddling expressions does not require the same heuristic process. In fact, the creation of obscure and not immediately decipherable phrases complements the poetic composition of a text, where the riddling

---

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *e.g.* Hes. fr. 266-67 Merkelbach-West; Ar. *V.*, 20.; Pl. *R.* 479c; Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 717a.

<sup>63</sup> We do not know what the original distinction between γρίφος and αἵνιγμα was, if there was any. A distinction has been made later by the rhetoric studies, cf. K. Ohlert 1979, 17-22; C. Luz 2010, 139-146; L. Winniczuk 1969, 191f.

<sup>64</sup> Περὶ γρίφων, *ap.* Athen. X 448c, Kaibel 1887.

<sup>65</sup> The challenging purpose of the practice of posing riddles is stressed by Athenaeus, who pointed out that “drinking the cup” was a possible punishment for who was unable to solve the riddle.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Athen. X 448c-e; 453b; 458a-c; 452e; 457e-f.

sequences are intended both to give expression to the narrative and to demonstrate the ability of the poet. As a consequence, the audience acts in a different way as well: in the one case, the public or the other party are actively (τῇ διανοίᾳ) involved in the resolution of the riddle, while in the other case, the immediate understanding of obscure expressions is not strictly necessary. This means that the public can just perceive by intuition the meaning of the elaborate language and imagery<sup>67</sup>. The latter could easily explain the γριφώδης featured in part of our verses, that is the “schauderhaften Katachresen” mentioned and recognized by Wilamowitz. In the following pages, it might be worth to analyze the *lexis* and the style of our verses in order to offer a possible interpretation of obscure expressions. My analysis of the style will then be used as a tool for a new interpretation and a new partition of the text column<sup>68</sup>.

The first lines are extremely incomplete, and except for the reference to one daughter in l. 1. 1 θυγάτη[, to food or grain in l. 2 cῖτα φέρων and probably to a *temenos* in l. 3 [.]α μοι τεμένῃ<sup>3</sup> no further consideration can be made. The readable part starts at ll. 4-5 with a symposium’s metaphor, in which the speaker invites to ‘fill the Charites’ crater to the brim’ [ἐ]γκέρα[ς]ον χαρίτων κρατῆ[ρ]α ἐπιτεφ[έ]α and to ‘make a toast to a speech’ π[ρ]όπι[ν]ε / [λό]γον. The same line features a third imperative cήμαινε ὅτι παρθένων ἀπείροσι πλέξομεν ὕμνοις. The speaker, perhaps to be identified with the choir of young girls (the hymns are called παρθένων) speaking in the first person, asks for the signal to be given to sing the songs: this construction of the verb σημαίνω is widely used in prose and tragedy, while it is quite rare in lyric poetry. The most common meaning of the Greek word is ‘to point’ or ‘to point to something by signs perceptible by the sight’ (cf. *GE s.v.* and *e.g.* Aesch. *Ag.* 293 and 497), or by hearing (cf. *e.g.* Xen. *An.* IV 2, 1 and 3, 29). In our verses, it is not clear what the signal for the start

---

<sup>67</sup> Gildersleeve’s comments to Wilamowitz’ *editio princeps* of *Persians* by Timotheus testified how a *griphic* diction can be assimilated to posing riddles: «In point of fact, we encounter from the start [of the *Persians*] a series of γριφοί such as Greek comedy delights in», Gildersleeve 1903, 226.

<sup>68</sup> In this chapter I will analyze passages and elements of the text functional to the proposed interpretation.

of the songs should be, but an interesting comparison could perhaps be the beginning of the first Pindaric Pythian I, 1-6: the Pindaric text begins with an invocation to the golden phorminx. The poet addresses the instrument by asking it to give the signals for the *anabolai*, the musical preludes to the choral singing<sup>69</sup>:

Pind. *Pyth.* I, 1-6  
 Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων  
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει  
 μὲν βάσις ἀγ'λαΐας ἀρχά,  
 πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν  
 ἀγησιχόρων ὁπότεν προοιμίων  
 ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζομένα

“Golden Lyre, rightful possession of Apollo and the violet-haired Muses, to you the footstep listens as it begins the splendid celebration, and the singers heed your signals, whenever with your vibrations you strike up the chorus-leading preludes” (Tr. W.H. Race).

The use of the verb *sēmaino* in *P. Berol.* 13270 might allude to an instrumental prelude that would follow, at least logically, but not necessarily in the action itself, the moment of poetic inspiration condensed into the metaphor ‘fill the Charites’ crater to the brim’.

The syntax of the sentence ruled by *sēmaino* is quite clear, but the figurative impact of the phrase variation πλέκειν ὕμνον with πλέκειν τι ὕμνοις should not be overlooked: what is expressed in the accusative is the subject matter of the songs, while the songs themselves are in the dative, as if they were

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Comotti 1989, 107-117; L. Athanassaki 2009, 246f. For the *anabolai* and their development in the New Dithyrambic poetry cf. West 1992, 205f. and 357f. In Aristophanes, the dithyrambic preludes are critically defined ἀεροδόνητος and νιφόβολος (Ar. *Av.* 1383-89), probably to underline negatively their inconsistency and “lightness” and, perhaps, the lack of a direct connection in content between a prelude and the respective coral song. Moreover, Aristophanes’ predilection for a weighty and “heavy” literature is well known. For the use of “coldness” and related words as a stylistic and aesthetic category, applied also to poetry cf. *Ach.* 140, *Thesm.* 170 and Paduano, 1973, 124.

to wrap the subject matter. The theme ‘woven by the songs’ is τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν Τροίαν καὶ τὸν παρὰ ναυκὶν ἀειμνάστοις ἄλόντα / νυκτιβάτα σκοπόν, thus the events of the Trojan War and especially the unfortunate Trojan spy captured near the ships. If the theme of the song is easily determined, the language used in these verses is rather obscure and features a *griphic lexis* for certain. The phrase in l. 6 τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν has been variously amended and interpreted. The interpretation of the verb κείρω is crucial in order to understand this passage. Despite the middle diathesis κειραμέναν, the aorist participle has always been translated with the passive meaning of ‘destroyed’ or ‘ravaged’. This operation leads necessarily to a correction of the phrase in the papyrus δορικώματι<sup>70</sup>: the amendment δορὸς ἥματι proposed by Powell 1925, 190 was then used by Edmonds 1940, 580, who translated: “Troy that was ravaged by the throwing of a spear”. Likewise, Page 1950, 389 suggested to correct in δορὸς οἶματι and to translate: “Troy destroyed by the throw of a spear”. Ferrari 1989, 196-200 provides an accurate interpretation of the sequence: first he shows numerous passages in which Troy was conquered δορί<sup>71</sup>; then he translates the attributive participle τὰν κειραμέναν with a passive meaning, saying that the verb, despite its middle voice, is sometimes used to denote either a city or a territory *deprived* of something belonging to it<sup>72</sup>. This meaning of the verb, in accordance with the passages used as examples, requires a direct object in the dative case. This is why Ferrari corrects κόματι in κόματα and translates the sequence as “Troy deprived of bodies by the spear”, quoting Euripides. *Hec.* 905-11, as «a direct and perhaps conscious echo»<sup>73</sup>:

Eur. *Hec.* 905-11 Χο. “σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατὴρ Ἰλιάς,  
τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλις οὐκέτι λέξει·  
τοῖον Ἑλλάνων νέφος ἀμφὶ σε κρύπτει  
δορὶ δὴ δορὶ πέρσαν.  
ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρ-

<sup>70</sup> While Manteuffel 1930, 175 n. 5 (albeit he did not offer any translation) and Gentili (*ap.* Fabbro 1983, 13) prudently chose to maintain the compound reading as «ricercata neoformazione da interpretare “con il corpo della lancia”».

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 196.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 196f.

<sup>73</sup> Ferrari 1989, 199.



σαι πύργων”

“O Ilium, my country, no longer will you be called one of the unsacked cities, such a cloud of Greeks covers you round, and has ravaged you with spear, yes the spear. You have been shorn of your crown of towers” (Tr. J. Morwood).

The passage from Euripides is particularly interesting and Ferrari may have hit the mark. However, I think we should consider another meaning of the verb κείρω: its middle diathesis is used to describe the act of cutting hair or getting the hair cut as a sign of mourning (cf. *ThGL* IV 1411d, *GE* s.v.), as in *Il.* XXIII, 43-46 οὐ μὰ Ζῆν’, ὅς τις τε θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος, / οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ λοετρὰ καρήατος ἄσσον ἰκέσθαι / πρὶν γ’ ἐνὶ Πάτροκλον θέμεναι πυρὶ σῆμά τε χεῦναι / κείρασθαί τε κόμην and 140f.; *Od.* IV 195-198 νεμεσσῶμαί γε μὲν οὐδὲν / κλαίειν, ὅς κε θάνησι βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ. / τοῦτό νυ καὶ γέρας οἶον ὀϊζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι, / κείρασθαί τε κόμην βαλέειν τ’ ἀπὸ δάκρυ παρειῶν and again XXIV 46. This meaning of the verb also appears associated with a city in mourning, as in Aeschines:

Aeschin. *in Ctesiph.* 211, 4-7 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ, ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι.

“Fellow citizens, I accept the crown, but I do not approve the time at which the proclamation is to be made. For events, which have caused our city to shear her head in mourning are no fitting occasion for my head to receive a crown” (Tr. C.D. Adams).

Or to a whole country in mourning, as in Alcaeus of Messene:

*AP* VIII, 412 Πᾶσά τοι οἰχομένῳ, Πυλάδῃ, κωκύεται Ἑλλάς  
ἄπλεκτον χαίταν ἐν χροῖ κειραμένα·  
αὐτὸς δ’ ἀτμήτοιο κόμας ἀπεθήκατο δάφνας

“Pylades, now thou art gone, all Hellas wails shearing her loosened hair, and Phoebus himself took off the laurels from his flowing locks, honoring his singer as is meet” (Tr. W. R. Paton)

I think that this interpretation of the verb is particularly suitable to define the mournful condition of Troy, which would be represented as ‘shaved in mourning’, it is also consistent with the overall style of the verses, and it appreciates the middle diathesis.

But how can the phrase δοριῳματι be solved? Taking into account the presence in the following verses of some new compounds, I believe δοριῳματι can be read as a new, even if obscure, compound δορίῳμα. The first term of the compound seems to qualify the second, describing the material of which the second is made, just like some new compounds by Timotheus *Fr.* 790A ἀπίναισι χαλκεμβόλοις<sup>74</sup>; *P.* 30 χαλκόκρασι, probably related to arrows<sup>75</sup>. The compound δορίῳμα featured in our papyrus could be a physical object<sup>76</sup>, that caused the lamentable condition of Troy, as indicated by its *dativus causae*. There are many compounds featuring dori- in the first position, but the most cogent *comparandum* is in Aesch. *Suppl.* 743-44 δοριπαγεῖς δ’ ἔχοντες κυανώπιδας / νήας ἔπλευσαν where the compound is used to indicate ships built using assembled wooden planks. According to Johansen and Whittle 1980, 99 *ad. loc.* «in compounds δορι- (δουρι-, δορυ-, δουρο-) regularly means ‘spear-’, the only meaning of δόρυ which has passed into Attic prose; it means ‘beam-’ or ‘timber-’ only here and in a few post-classical words». Therefore, the meaning ‘timber-’ seems to suit to the compound δοριῳματι in *P. Berol.* 13270, which could be

<sup>74</sup> Also in E. *IA* 1319 ναῶν χαλκεμβολάδων referred to the ship. Cf. Hordern 2002, 132.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Hordern 2002, 149.

<sup>76</sup> An object such the χρύσωμα of Eur. *Ion*, 1030 χρύσωμ’ Ἀθάνας τόδε and 1430 τί δρῶν, τί χρῶσθαι, φράζε μοι, χρυσώματι where the term, although not a compound, indicates in both instances a golden object: in the first case, it is a golden vial containing the serpents of the Gorgon’s poison, that, according to Creusa’s plan, will be fatal to her “stepchild”. In the second, it is used to indicate the golden necklace, that is the medium that leads to the recognition between Creusa and Ion.

deciphered by an expression like ‘a wooden object’. The entire sequence τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν Τροίαν would mean “Troy shaven in mourning due to the wooden object”. But the reference to a wooden object in the context of the Trojan War, particularly as the cause of its downfall, suggests not only the spear, and thus the Achaean army deployed in battle, but also to the δουράτεον μέγαν ἵππον in *Od.* VIII, 512 (cf. *ibid.* 492 ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον δουρατέου; 506-7 τρίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή, / ἥε διατμήξαι κοῖλον δόρυ νηλεῖ χαλκῷ), that is the wooden horse. Therefore, I think that we should keep the compound as such and that we can read it as a reference to the cause of the fall of Troy, be it the spear or the wooden horse, as we can not rule out the intentionality of the ambiguity in the meaning of the compound.

If my suggestion to read in the sequence τὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν Τροίαν an allusion to the Trojan horse hits the mark, a comparison with the few extant fragments<sup>77</sup> of the Stesichorean *Iliou Persis* could testify how the taking of Troy and, in particular, the theme of the horse can apply as a central theme also in choral lyric production. Although it is almost impossible to reconstruct the poem’s *diegesis*, there is reason to believe that a narrative section of the song dealt with the episode of the horse, as it would be confirmed both by the words δούρειος ἵππος that can be read on the verso of *P. Oxy.* XXXVII 2803 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1485.5; *LDAB* 3974) fr. 1 (=Stes. *SLG* fr. 133 Page = *PMGF* pg. 199 Davies) and could either be an alternative title to *Iliou Persis* or indicate a section<sup>78</sup>, and in the inscription ΔΟΥΡΕΙΟΣ ΙΠΠΙΟΣ featured on *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*<sup>79</sup> in the section dedicated to *Iliou Persis* κατά Στησίχορον. Moreover, according to another epigram of Alcaeus of Messene, Dorotheos of Thebes would have accompanied with a wind instrument a choral singing mourning the Trojans and the horse<sup>80</sup>:

<sup>77</sup> *PMG* fr. 196–205 + *SLG* fr. 88–147 Page = *PMGF* 183–245 Davies.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. West 1971; Führer 1971.

<sup>79</sup> *IG* XIV 1284; cf. Sadurska 1964; Debiasi 2004, 161–164.

<sup>80</sup> Ma 2007, 242 believes that this is a dithyramb, without motivating his statement. Perhaps the reference both to a wind instrument, probably the *aulos*, traceable in the verb πνέω and to Semele may have led to this identification.

APXVI, 7 Σύμφωνον μαλακοῖσι κερασσάμενος θρόον αὐλοῖς  
Δωρόθεος γοερούς ἔπνεε Λαρδανίδας  
καὶ Σεμέλας ὠδῖνα κεράνιον, ἔπνεε δ' ἵππου  
ἔργματ' ἀειζῶων ἀψάμενος Χαρίτων·

“Mixing the song of many accorded voices with soft pipes, Dorotheos piped the mournful Trojans, and the labour of Semele, struck by lightning, and he piped the deeds of the Horse, having reached the eternal Graces;” (Tr. J. Ma)

In the following lines, we read some other compounds, the meaning of which is, however, more intelligible. Line 7 features the compound νυκτιβάταν, consisting in a first part in the adverbial dative and a second verbal part. The spy, “who wanders in the night” and who is captured near the ships τὸν παρὰ ναυκὶν ἀειμνάστοις ἄλόντα / νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν has been recognized by all publishers as Dolon, the Trojan spy featured in *Il.* X 314-456. Manteuffel notes but does not argue that the σκοπόν may also be Diomedes.<sup>81</sup> In the tenth book of the *Iliad*, in fact, two assemblies, one Trojan and one Achaean, are mentioned: Dolon and Diomedes volunteer as spies, each one for his own side. However, it is Dolon, who will be captured *near the ships*, and Diomedes will not spare his life. Moreover, throughout the whole tenth book, the term σκοπόν is always referred to the Trojan character only and the compound adjective νυκτιβάταν seems to recall the similar ταχυβάταν νεῶν κατόπταν of Eur. *Rh.* 133, which is used to define precisely the Trojan spy. It is not clear, however, what the link between the episode of Dolon and the destruction of Troy could be. One solution might be to assume that the reference to the fall of Troy just substantiates the epic theme of the song while the episode of Dolon specifies the episode that will be sung. A second, different, solution could be to identify the spy captured near the ships as another character of the Trojan cycle somehow related to the scam of the Trojan horse, rarely attested in Greek sources, but getting ample space in the second book of the *Aeneid* by Virgil. In Virgil, Sinon gets himself captured by Trojan shepherds “ut strueret Troiamque aperieret Achivis” (Verg. *Aen.* II,

---

<sup>81</sup> Manteuffel 1930, 175 n. 8.

60). By deception, he ensured that the wooden horse plan was successful. According to Proclus' *argumentum* to *Iliou Persis*, Sinon would signal the Achaeans to leave Tenedos and to come out of the belly of the horse only after managing to enter the city of Troy by deception (προσποίητος)<sup>82</sup>.

On the very same line 7, the chorus invokes the Muse. This passage has been considered by all editors as a separate *incipit*, free from the preceding text: without any graphic interruption in the drafting of the text column aimed at indicating the transition from one *skolion* to the other, the invocation to the Muse would open the third and last fragment entitled, according to most editors, Mnemosyne. The text partition adopted in current editions, however, does not match in any way the *mise en page* of the text. What is more, an invocation to the Muse does not necessarily have to be placed in the very first line of a poem (cf. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* I, 58; *Nem.* VI, 28; *Isth.* IV, 61; *Dyth.* I, 14; Bacch. *Ep.* III, 11.). The following considerations about logic and style are aimed at demonstrating that the invocation to the Muse in l. 7 should not be considered as a separate *incipit* and that it is absolutely consistent with the verses preceding it, as well as with the verses following it.

Logical consistency is self-evident: after announcing the theme of the song, the chorus invokes the Muse, defined by assonant ἀλγανόμματα μάτερ, and asks her to follow them while they are performing ἄρτι βρύουσαν ἀοιδᾶν πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφαί διαποικίλον.

Besides the logical consistency, the image of “weaving something (Troy and the spy, that is the content) with songs” featured in l. 5 in the papyrus παρθένων ἀπείροσι πλέξομεν ὕμνοισι recurs significantly later on in l. 8 where the songs are called πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφαί διαποικίλον. Here, the chorus states that their song is new, just blossomed, and is adorned by a new wisdom. This is a - maybe programmatic - claim for novelty. Claims of originality are a recurrent *topos* in lyric tradition, where the novelty may invest the song theme, or the occasion for which it was composed, or its vocabulary, or its style, or even the

---

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *PEG* arg. 10-11; about Sinon cf. Zwicker, *Sinon*, in *RE* II/5 (1927) 248–252; C. Borges-Sampson 2012, 67-68. However, there is also a tradition, according to which Sinon does not appear within the walls of Troy, and therefore would be neither captured nor would spontaneously hand himself over to the enemies, cf. Tryph. 510-11; Apollod. *Ep.* 5.19.

music that goes with it<sup>83</sup>. The claim of novelty summed up in our verses obviously invests not so much the theme of the song, but rather the method, the technique, and poetics behind it. Similarly, Bacchylides hopes for novelty, making use of a lexicon that seems comparable to our verses, at least in part:

Bacch. *Dith.* V, 1- 5 Πάρεστι μυρία κέλευθος  
 ἀμβροσίων μελέων,  
 ὃς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων  
 λάχησι δῶρα Μουσᾶν,  
 ἰοβλέφαροί τε κ<όρ>αι  
 φερεστέφανοι Χάριτες  
 βάλωσιν ἀμφὶ τιμὰν  
 ὕμνοισιν· ὕφαινε νυν ἐν  
 ταῖς πολυηράτοις τι καινὸν  
 ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις,  
 εὐαίνετε Κηΐα μέριμνα.

“There are countless paths of ambrosial verse for one whom the Pierian Muses endow with gifts, and whom the violet-eyed maidens, the garlanded Graces, attend, casting honour on his songs. Weave, then, something brand-new in lovely, blessed Athens, renowned genius of Keian poetry” (Tr. D’Angour)

In Bacchylides, the use of the verb ὑφαίνω related to the composition of a new song seems to allude to a material aspect, to an action of manufacturing, and thus to the texture of a song, rather than to its content or to the occasion<sup>84</sup>. This same image significantly recurs also in Pindar, where the same verb is also related to the adjective ποικίλος:

Pind. Fr. 179 ὕφαινω δ’ Ἀμυθαονίδαισιν  
ποικίλον ἄνδημα

<sup>83</sup> For a poetics of novelty, see D’Angour 2011, especially 184-206 and related bibliography.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. D’Angour 2011, 72. According to Nagy 1996, 64f., the image *weaving the song(s)* is «so old to be of Indo-European linguistic provenience», tracking the etymology of the word *húmnos* back to the verb *huphaínō*. Cf. also Schmitt 1967, 293-300. *Contra* cf. DELG 1156.

“I weave a varied headband [that is, of song] for the Amythaonidai” (Tr. G. Nagy)

Moreover, we read again in Pindar the verb πλέκω instead of the verb ὑφαίνω, in order to indicate the composition of songs:

Pind. *O.* VI, 84-87    ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμ-  
φαλῖς, εὐανθῆς Μετώπα,  
πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτι-  
κτεν, τᾶς ἐρατεινὸν ὕδωρ πίομαι,  
ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων  
ποικίλον ὕμνον.

“My grandmother was Stymphalian, blooming Metope, who bore horse-driving Thebe, whose lovely water I shall drink, as I wave for spearmen my varied hymn” (Tr. W. H. Race)

It seems that both in our verses and in the above-mentioned passages, the metaphoric image of “weaving” can be found referring to poem composition. The metaphor of weaving and interlacing, as an act of creation, implies in itself the idea of novelty and originality. While drawing on traditional motifs and means, be they song themes, or melodies, or compositional and performance structures of choral singing, the ability *to weave* together the various components of a song will realize the innovation and novelty claimed. Furthermore, the novelty claimed in *P. Berol.* 13270 is emphasized by the adverb ἄρτι combined with the verb βρύω and by the lyrical and musical re-contextualization of this verb. It should be stressed, in fact, that this is the only recurrence of the verb βρύω in relation to the poetic activity<sup>85</sup>. The same process of re-semantisation or re-contextualization of a lexicon not belonging to the sphere of the poetic composition can be seen in the *iunctura* πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφίαι, which seems to emphasize even more the technical or craft-related aspect: the compound is already used in Homer *Il.* V 193f. ἐν μεγάροισι Λυκάονος ἔνδεκα δῖφοι / καλοὶ πρωτοπαγεῖς νεοτευχέες and in *Il.* XXIV 266f. ἐκ μὲν ἄμαξαν ἄειραν ἐϋτροχον ἡμιονεῖην / καλὴν πρωτοπαγέα. In the first Homeric passage,

---

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Commentary* s.v.

the compound is used to define a newly built cart (πρῶτος and πῆγνυμι) in combination with the analogous adjective νεοτευχής. The two adjectives indicate that the cart is of recent built, or else that its components were assembled for the first time. The presence of the *iunctura* πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφίαι certainly calls to mind the *sphragis* of the Persians by Timotheus, where the poet uses the latter Homeric compound referred to the Muse to claim the originality and novelty of his poetry:

PMG 791, 202f. ἄλλ' ὦ χρυσεοκίθαριν ἀέ-  
ζων μοῦσαν νεοτευχῇ,

“But you who protect the newly made Muse  
with the golden kithara” (Tr. P. LeVen)

Finally, the adjective διαποικίλον featured at v.11 is a key word in defining the song that the chorus is going to sing. The word *poikilia* and its derivatives were originally used to describe something visual or auditory<sup>86</sup>. The semantic spectrum of the word is then extended when applied to speech or to poetry, where it denotes an intricate, complicated style, full of rhetorical figures. Moreover, the word *poikilia* belongs to the technical vocabulary of music, indicating the “coloring” of a melody. It was also adopted by ancient critics to describe New Music’s virtuosity<sup>87</sup>.

However, what follows in the text column does not deal with the events of the Trojan war and seems to disappoint the expectations created by previous verses. Line 9, as a matter of fact, features a significant change both in the content and in the diction of the text. After the initial *lacuna* in line 9, the sequence [......]ι τέγξαν Ἀχελώϊου δρόκοις opens *ex abrupto* a section of verses developing the image of the ship in the storm. The speaker is now no longer a chorus, there is no sign of a plurality of voices nor of a performance by a choral singing. The content of the verses seems to resemble the Archilochean and

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *e.g.* *Il.* X 30; *Hdt.* VII 61, II 148; *Eur. Hel.* 711.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Csapo 2004; E. Berardi-Lisi-D. Micallella 2009; P. LeVen 2014 with bibliography.



Alcaic allegory of ship – state<sup>88</sup>: given a signal of impending danger, the crew or the ship captain are alternatively encouraged to go on sailing, while keeping the sails firmly to the ropes (*P. Oxy.* 2306 col. II = Alc. fr. 305b V.), or to sail back toward the safety of the mainland (fr. Alc. 6 V.). The sequence in line 9 would immediately project the audience in a seafaring context and would make manifest the theme, as just after it, a series of indications about what to do when navigating through a storm begins: after the past participle of the verb παραπροΐημι, the speaker, according to the *Du-Stil*<sup>89</sup> practice, calls on a generic You and invites him to loosen the ropes (l. 9) ὑφίει πόδα, to open the linen wings, that is the sails (ll. 9f.) λῦε ἔανοῦ / πτέρυγας, to hasten towards the mainland (l. 10) τάχος ἴεο λεπτολίθων, to carefully watch the sea (l. 10) καθόρα πέλαιος and to escape the devastating fury of the South wind (l. 10f.) παρὰ γὰρ / ἔκφυγε Νότου χαλεπὰν φοβερὰ[ν διαπο]ντοπλανῆ μανίαν.

Nautical or maritime metaphors or digressions are quite common both in lyric poetry and tragedy. Nevertheless, the temptation to read this section of verses as consistent with the above ones, almost like a kind of interlude as, for example,<sup>90</sup> in Pind. *Pyth.* XI, 36–40 ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἄμεν- / σίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην, / ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν / τὸ πρίν· ἢ μέ τις ἄνεμος ἔξω πλόου / ἔβαλεν, ὥς ὅτ' ἄκατον ἐνναλίαν; is averted by lack of any structural, thematic or significant function between these verses and the previous ones<sup>91</sup>, while in Pindar those functions are always featured (cf. e.g. *Pyth.* X, 51–52; *Nem.* III, 27–28; IV, 70–2). The two sections of text appear rather autonomous and internally consistent.

<sup>88</sup> The metaphorical use of an already Homeric image is to be found also in Theogn. vv. 671–680: Sol. Fr. 11 D. = 12 West; widely in Pindar and tragic poets. For the allegoric ways and motives see Rösler 1980, 115–148 e Gentili 2006<sup>4</sup>, 292–316. For metaphors in sympotic context see S. Nannini 1988.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Rösler 1980, 37–41.

<sup>90</sup> Here the wind is hostile or violent, and is the poet's inspiration. For the maritime metaphors in Pindar see Péron 1974, in particular for wind 170–215. For Pindaric metaphors' ways and functions see D. Steiner 1986, in particular 68–75 and P. Angeli Bernardini 1977.

<sup>91</sup> While in Pindar, for instance, those functions are always featured (cf. e.g. *Pyth.* X, 51–52; *Nem.* III, 27–28; IV, 70–72).

Besides lexical and logical consistency throughout lines 1-8, we can also detect a certain symmetry of structures: the triad accusative, aorist participle, and *dativus causae-loci- modi*, with the occasional addition of a compound adjective recurs in lines 1-8. The content of the song in l. 6 is expressed using the accusative Τροίαν plus the aorist participle κειραμέναν followed by a *dativus causae* δορικώματι. Similarly, the accusative σκοπόν in l. 7 is defined by the aorist participle ἄλόντα and associated with the place indication παρὰ ναυσίν plus the adjective compound νυκτιβάταν. The same structure is found in the choir's declaration on the poetry and the characteristics of the song they are going to perform : the songs αἰοιδάν are defined as 'just bloomed' by the aorist participle βρύουσαν plus the adjective διαποικίλον followed by datives πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφαί, maybe to be intended ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the verb βρύω, if we admit a sort of nuance of meaning of the verse 'to be full', 'lush'. On the other hand, structure and rhythm of lines 9-11 seem different and, as noted by Ferrari 1989, 217, the juxtaposition of the adjectives χαλεπὸν, φοβερὸν, διαποντοπλανῆ and the resonance given to the word μανίαν in the last position reflect the excited pace of the calls made in the imperative sequence.

Nevertheless, some caution against sharply splitting lines 1-11 into separate "fragments" is in order, due to some considerations regarding the style of the verses. If the first lines are distinguished by lexical refinement, *hapax*, and new compounds, these same features can be found, albeit attenuated, also in what I consider to be the second part of the verses: line 9 features the only recurrence of the compound verb παραπροΐημι for which some proposals for correction and integration of the preceding short gap have been put forward. Also, the compound adjective λεπτολίθων is newly minted, although it is clear what it means. Finally, the danger that must be escaped by quickly bending towards the shore, is described using a *climax* of juxtaposed adjectives, defining the folly of the South wind as χαλεπὸν φοβερὸν διαποντοπλανῆ μανίαν. The first adjective is also used elsewhere to denote inclement winds while sailing (cf. e.g. *Od.* XII, 286 ἐκ νυκτῶν δ' ἄνεμοι χαλεποί, δηλήματα νηῶν), while the second one is usually referred to a sense of dread and danger. The most likely conjecture of the compound adjective δια]ποντοπλανῆ, which goes back to

Wilamowitz, would be an *hapax* as well and might remind the διαποικίλον in line 8.

Regarding the problematic partition of the text, one last consideration about its *mise en page* should be made. If we look at papyrus anthologies, recently collected in a volume by Francisca Pordomingo<sup>92</sup>, and if we also look at other materials, that may be somewhat similar with regard to the content, the destination, and the use of texts, as the collection of lyrical *incipits* on the *recto* of *P. Mich.* 3498+3250b, 3250 a, c where, despite the hand's clumsiness, the *incipits* «are divided by headings, which are intended and marked off with *paragraphoi*»<sup>93</sup> or also the uneven collection of epigrams in *P. Vindob* G 40611 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1596.2; *LDAB* 5473)<sup>94</sup>, the absence in *P. Berol.* 13270 of signs, blanks or other means designed to distinguish passages in the first eleven lines of the text column recorded in our papyrus is both singular and suspect. It would be the only case lacking a visible policy of separating compositions, and that is just for the part before the *paragraphos*, which is actually affixed before the elegy. Now, a drastic change in themes would of itself be sufficient to suppose the end or interruption of a composition and the beginning of a new distinct passage. Moreover, the beginning of a new line in the text column (l. 9) corresponds to this variation. It is worth pointing out that the *lacuna* of about five letters at the beginning of the line allows neither to assume that he who drafted the text may have added a sign, maybe an interlinear sign aimed at separating the compositions nor to exclude it.

As for the content, the text lines in *P. Berol.* 13270 ll. 1 – 8 seem to be a choral song, more likely the introductory section of a song to be performed by a female chorus and one whose theme will be an episode belonging to the Trojan cycle. Considering the Doric *facies* featured, for example, in ἀειμνάτοισι at l. 6, in τὰν κειραμέναν at l. 6, μᾶτερ at l. 7 and αἰοιδάν at l. 8, I believe that the verses might fit into the type of choral compositions that has been established and

---

<sup>92</sup> F. Pordomingo 2013.

<sup>93</sup> C. Borges-Sampson 2012, 12.

<sup>94</sup> Parsons-Maehler-F. Maltomini 2015.

developed in the Doric area<sup>95</sup> and that transformed variously extensive epic or heroic narrative contents in melic forms<sup>96</sup>. The composition of proems, *anabolai* or introductory sections to a narrative song of epic theme and format goes back to Terpander's melic production. Tradition attributes to him not only large compositions (citharoedic nomoi) but also real proems, that is autonomous compositions – often featuring invocations to gods – introducing an epic tale. This tradition also features works by other citharoedic narrative composers, such as Stesichorus, Thales of Gortyn, Xenocritus of Locri, Xenodamo of Kythera, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos – to whom Athenaeus (XIII 610c) attributes the composition of one Ἰλίου Πέρσις – and, last but not least, the first<sup>97</sup> Ibycus of Rhegium, i.e. when he produced epic-lyric Stesichorus-type poems, of which there are a few fragments of indirect tradition<sup>98</sup>.

Given the overall style of the text, its language and theme, as well as the presence of many motifs recalling Pindar, Bacchylides, and Ibycus, the first part of the verses seems to be compatible with the style of the choral lyric of the V - IV century b.C. The originally and predominantly public use of choral singing does not preclude that some sections were performed during symposia. Actually, testimonies by comic poets show that, together with the recitation of poems composed by symposial poets and the execution of short, more or less improvised songs on a specific theme – that could be erotic, gnomic or political – symposia also featured *excerpta* of lyric poets, such as Alcman, Stesichorus, Simonides, Pindar, and Phrynichus.<sup>99</sup> The epic theme mentioned in our verse would seem not well adapted to the symposial meeting, during which the traditional topics are surely different. However, it seems possible that, at least up to a certain period, *epē* could be sung during a symposium. In this regard, we have a significant *recusatio* by Ibycus in the probably symposial ode to

---

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Davies 1986; Gostoli 1990, 16-37; Ercoles 2013, 18-28.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. West 1971, 313f.

<sup>97</sup> Schneidewin 1833, 38ff.

<sup>98</sup> For the two phases in Ibycus' production, cf. Sisti 1967. *Contra* F. G. Welcker *Kl.Schr.* Bonn 1844, 220-250.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1354 ff.; Eup. fr. 148 and 395 K.-A.; Timae. *FGrH* 566, 32 and also Reitzenstein 1893, 30 ff., Pasquali 1964, 342 ff., Rösler 1980, 92 ff.

Polycrates, where the poet says ‘I don’t feel like singing’ epic-related topics<sup>100</sup>. The fact that the poet states his intention to abandon the epic-lyric themes in favor of erotic ones, might suggest a past when epic could find its space even during symposial performances. Furthermore, among the series of symposial recommendations arranged by Xenophanes in fr. 1 W<sup>2</sup>, we find also one regarding leaving out of the symposium ‘ancient fictions and furious conflicts’ (fr. 1, 22f. W<sup>2</sup>), which seems to contain a rejection of the epic theme<sup>101</sup>.

The seafaring metaphor featured in ll. 9-11 is very versatile, and traditionally it is widely used in different contexts and literary or philosophical genres. Nevertheless, due to the absence of any references explaining either its context or its metaphorical function, if any, it is not possible to determine whether it really is a metaphor that compares ship to state (or as any other metaphor, see Commentary, 104-106.) or whether the image is just meant as a spontaneous composition on a theme that is extremely versatile and typical to a symposial context and that, according to the occasion, can lend itself to multiple interpretations and reuses<sup>102</sup>.

All these considerations lead me to discern two sections in the first eleven lines of *P. Berol.* 13270: lines 1-8 are a part, probably the prooemial section of a choral song characterized by complex *griphic* vocabulary and focused on an epic theme. Lines 9-11, on the other hand, feature a second group of verses developing the – perhaps metaphorical – image of the ship in the storm. If, quoting Pasquali, «caratteristica del lavoro scientifico è lo scegliere», I opt for printing the text graphically marking the gap highlighted so far with the symbol ⊗. Therefore, my edition proposal considers both the formal aspect, that is how the column of text looks like and the content.

---

<sup>100</sup> Cf. e.g. Page 1951; Sisti 1967.

<sup>101</sup> Rossi 1983, 22f. has no doubts about it. He assumes a symposial destination even for a few poems dell'Ὀμηρικώτατος Stesichorus, hazarding a traveling Stesichorus «Uno Stesicoro che va di residenza in residenza a cantare *anche* nei simposi è un’ipotesi che ha molto a favore e niente a sfavore».

<sup>102</sup> For the reuse of a certain symposial repertoire see Rösler 1980, 97-101; Colesanti 2011, especially 35 - 107. For known cases of symposial re-use within *theognidea* see Condello 2009-2010, 87.

#### 4. Dithyrambic diction

«“I went to the Classical master, though. He was an old crab, *he* was.”  
“I never went to him” the Mock Turtle said with a sigh.  
“He taught Laughing and Grief, they used to say.”  
“So he did, so he did,” said the Gryphon, sighing in his turn»  
L. Carrol, *Through the Looking-Glass*

About the style featured in the text of the papyrus from Elephantine, both J.U. Powell<sup>103</sup> and Giorgio Pasquali claimed that it «[...] recalls the diction of Timotheus’ Persians»<sup>104</sup>.

As a matter of fact, a γριφώδης diction, that is an obscure and baroque language, is known to be a hallmark of the dithyrambic style.

Waern 1951, 47 – 51 traced the evolution of what is called an «artistic kenning», that is «an artistically formed kenning, for use only in poetry, which appeals especially to a lofty pathos». The author explained it as «a concentrated image behind which one can imagine a simile of the type well known from elevated poetry». This rhetorical technique<sup>105</sup> is thus already present in Homer as a comparison in form of explicit simile or allegory. Then it develops into the «apposition kenning», which «contributes to the ease of understanding» and, finally, into a «concentrated kenning without explanation». The rhetorical figures that can be labeled as «artistic kenning» or «apposition kenning» are usually explained through a noun or a sentence. Both epic and archaic lyric poetry have an explicit communicative function, therefore *kenningar* were implied with caution to avoid compromising the understanding of the text. In drama, the poets were keen to adopt explicit «apposition kenning» rather than obscure and riddling expressions. A high concentration of «kenning without

---

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Powell 1925, 191 “*cum artificiosa dictio, e.g. Timothei*”.

<sup>104</sup> Pasquali 1964, 345.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. also Bornmann 1952.

explanation» is traceable in dithyrambic lyric poetry and, for instance, apposition kennings «are completely lacking in Timotheos»<sup>106</sup>.

However, recognizing Timotheus' distinctiveness and his innovative contribution must not lead us to underestimate the process behind them. The relationship between lyrics and music, as well as between content and musical innovations was already dynamic before the Milesian poet, as testified by Pseudo-Plutarch's treatise *De Musica*:

Ps – Plut. *De. Mus.*1141c – 1141a Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ Μελανιπίδης ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐπιγεγόμενος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τῇ προϋπαρχούσῃ μουσικῇ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Φιλόξενος οὐδὲ Τιμόθεος· οὗτος γάρ, ἑπταφθόγγου τῆς λύρας ὑπαρχούσης ἕως εἰς Τέρπανδρον ἑπταφθόγγου τῆς λύρας ὑπαρχούσης ἕως εἰς Τέρπανδρον τὸν Ἀντισσαῖον, διέρριπεν εἰς πλείονας φθόγγους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ <ή> αὐλητικὴ ἀφ' ἀπλουστέρας εἰς ποικιλωτέραν μεταβέβηκε μουσικὴν· τὸ γὰρ παλαιόν, ἕως εἰς Μελανιπίδην τὸν τῶν διθυράμβων ποιητὴν, συμβεβήκει τοὺς αὐλητὰς παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν λαμβάνειν τοὺς μισθοὺς, πρωταγωνιστοῦσης δηλονότι τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δ' αὐλητῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοῖς διδασκάλοις· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεφθάρη, ὥς καὶ Φερεκράτης τὸν κωμικὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν Μουσικὴν ἐν γυναικείῳ σχήματι, ὅλην κατηκισμένην τὸ σῶμα·

Ps – Plut. *De. Mus.*1141c – 1141a “In like manner Melanippides the lyric poet, Philoxenus, and Timotheus, all forsook the ancient music. For whereas until the time of Terpander the Antissaeian the harp had only seven strings, he added a greater number, and gave its notes a wider range. The wind-music also exchanged its ancient plainness for a more copious variety. For in ancient times, till Melanippides the dithyrambic came into request, the wind-music received salaries from the poets, poetry holding the first rank and the musicians being in the service of the poet. Afterwards that custom grew out of date; insomuch that Pherecrates the comedian brings in Music in woman's habit, all bruised and battered.” (Tr. W. W. Goodwin)

The riddling style typical of the dithyrambic lyric poetry was then progressively emphasized and enriched up to the so-called “musical revolution” carried by the poets of the New Music in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries

---

<sup>106</sup> Waern 1951, 50.

B.C.<sup>107</sup> The “musical revolution” involved not only the proper musical aspect providing technical innovations thus increasing the versatility of the musical spectrum that the *aulos*, the *kithara*, and the lyre were able to produce<sup>108</sup>, but also both the lexical and stylistic aspect of every composition: words give way to music towards a truly mimetic effect. For this purpose, the “New Dithyrambic” poets incorporated in their poems neologisms, compounds, rhetorical figures in sound and the so-called New Music, often opposed by misoneistic critics<sup>109</sup>, was no longer a mere accompaniment to the theatrical performance<sup>110</sup> but acquired a new communicative and expressive function. Since dithyramb «hosted the most radical innovations»<sup>111</sup>, the development of a poetic style featured by «a) the elaborately compound epithets; b) the frequency and aggregation of epithets; c) periphrasis, often of a riddling nature»<sup>112</sup> can be considered the main feature of a “new dithyramb” despite this was not the only genre affected by the linguistic and musical innovations<sup>113</sup>.

In order to verify if there is any relationship between our text and the new dithyramb, it is thus necessary to briefly analyze the style featured by the biggest and better-known exponent of the New Music. Timotheus’ achievements are obviously emblematic of the stylistic changes in dithyramb, as he proudly sung claiming his poetical-musical revolution:

Tim. *PMG* 796 οὐκ αἰίδω τὰ παλαιά,  
καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω·  
νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει,

<sup>107</sup> About the new dithyramb cf. Zimmermann 1997, 297-303; Ieranò 1997, 205-232, 289-303; Musti 2000; Ford 2013, 313-331; P. LeVen 2014, 150-188.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Marzi 1988, 264-272; West 1992, 356-372; Barker 1995, 4-60; Csapo 2004, 207-248; D’Angour 2006, 264-283.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 964-972; Nesselrath 1990, 254; Ieranó 1997, 297-303; Dobrov 2002, 186; Barker 2004, 204; P. A. LeVen 2014, 152-160.

<sup>110</sup> What we call New Music was originally called “theater music” (Pl. *Leg.* 700a-701d; Arist. *Po.* 1324a; Aristox fr. 26, 29; [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1140d-f, 1142d), as it affected the theatrical performances of drama and dithyramb, cf. Csapo 2004, 207f.

<sup>111</sup> Csapo 2011, 72.

<sup>112</sup> Seaford, 1977-78, 88.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. διθυράμβων νοῦν ἔχεις ἐλάττονα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδιανοήτων; P. A. LeVen 2012, 44-46.



τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων·  
ἀπὶ τῷ Μοῦσᾳ παλαιά.

“I do not sing old things,  
For my new-fangled ones are better.  
New Zeus is king,  
But in old times Cronos was ruler.  
Let the old Muse go away”. (Tr. S.  
Nooter)

His style was often considered “baroque”, intricate and obscure as much by ancient criticism<sup>114</sup> as by modern one<sup>115</sup>.

I might recall the rather blunt judgement expressed by Kenyon<sup>116</sup> about Timotheus’ *Persians* once Wilamowitz’ *editio princeps* disclosed the riddling diction of the *nomos*: «...so forced, contorted, and exaggerated that he is simply not translatable into any other language; so devoid of beauty of idea, of phrase, or of rhythm that it is only by remembering that his verses are about the libretto to a musical composition that we can understand his being tolerated at all: he contradicts in every respect the ideals of Hellenic art and taste. He is a curiosity, a monstrosity, an addition, no doubt, to our knowledge of Greek literature, but an addition such as we may hope, for the credit of Greek literature, will not be repeated».

Timotheus’ longer extant fragment recording the description of the battle of Salamis (*PMG* 971) is, in fact, spangled by polysynthetic compounds, neologisms and complex rhetorical figures, which are not explicitly explained, according to Waern’s definition of «concentrated kenning without explanation». The technique used by Timotheus is based both on the creation of a new semantics and a renewal of epic, tragic, or other literary models. An example could be the description of the character of the islander, introduced in lines 40-

---

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Dobrov 1997, 63 «in the early stages of Aristophanes’ career the new music is a concrete, *external* object of ridicule on a level with a host of other targets».

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Kenyon 1903, 764 «contorted and allusive style, which contravenes all our ideas of classical taste».

<sup>116</sup> Kenyon 1903.

71 of *PMG* 971, who is floundering around and accidentally drinks sea water<sup>117</sup>. The construct Timotheus chose to designate sea water is ἀβακχίωτος ὄμβρος (*PMG* 971, 62). The adjective ἀβακχίωτος certainly echoes the epithet of Dionysus βακχιώτης and the whole sequence recalls the way in which wine is often designated, e.g. Eur. *Cycl.* 123 Βρομίου πῶμα, 149 ἄκρατον μέθυ, 415 Διονύσου γάνος. According to Hordern 2002, 160 «The expression has some similarity to the phrases at e.g. Soph. *OT* 1214 γάμοι ἄγαμοι [...] though in these cases the adjective negates an essential characteristic of the noun. By contrast, it is not an essential quality of ὄμβρος that it be “Bacchic”». As a matter of fact, the contrast created by Timotheus is far more meaningful. The poet goes beyond the paradox expressed by sequences such as γάμοι ἄγαμοι and creates a construct which involves a more subtle and indirect logical process. He condenses into an adjective the riddling equation: “a-Bacchic” = “not pleasant”, “not usable for the purpose of the Bacchic ritual of drinking” and *therefore* “undrinkable”. Thus, the riddling construct ἀβακχίωτος ὄμβρος acquires the new meaning of ‘sea water’ just because it is applied in a maritime context. Moreover, Timotheus’ construct could be a pun to a tradition that often sees the merging of maritime imaginary with the imaginary related to drunkenness<sup>118</sup>.

The text preserved in *P. Berol.* 13270 features some elements that, to a certain extent, might be ascribed to the *griphic* diction of the new dithyramb, that is the image of “weaving a poem” with the unusual variation of the structure πλέκειν τι ὕμνοις, new compounds, such as δορίωμα<sup>119</sup> and νοκτιβάτης, and, especially the terms used for the claim of novelty, which are absolutely consistent with those of Timotheus’ style. However, none of the riddling expressions in our papyrus seems to suit the category of «concentrated kenning without explanation». Even though a resematization of epic and, more general, traditional motives is to be found in our verses and a resemblance with a dithyrambic diction should not be underestimated, I do not think that the text of

<sup>117</sup> The act of accidentally drinking salt water is used to underline the proverbial inability of barbarians to swim, cf. e.g. Hdt. 8. 89,2; Aesch. *Pers.* 277; Thuc. 7. 29-39.

<sup>118</sup> For the merge of the two imaginaries cf. Euripides’ Cyclops, cf. e.g. 577; 676ff. See also Gargiulo 1996, 77.

<sup>119</sup> This is, however, my conjectured interpretation of the sequence.

the Elephantine papyrus is characterized by the same mimetic liveliness of Timotheus' style. Although we have very few verses at our disposal, daring compounds and sound figures are missing. Therefore, I think that establishing a relationship between our text and the New Dithyrambic genre is certainly possible, although the former is characterized by a more muted tone.

## 5. The elegy

«Pointless drinking  
Keeping my healthy dose of resentment  
Keeping me waking with an empty repentance  
Keeping me broke, broke as a joke»  
A. LaVere, *Pointless drinking*

The elegy placed under the *paragraphos* is considered by all editors as belonging to the framework of symposial normative elegies that – together, for example, with *Quaestiones Convivales* by Plutarch and some passages of the *Laws* by Plato – aim at a definition of the symposial *ēthos* and at a description of the behavior relevant to the proper conduct of the symposial meeting<sup>120</sup>.

The preserved verses begin with the greeting where the speaker<sup>121</sup> addresses the guests χαίρετε συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμήλικες ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ / ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν. The couplet is interpreted by all editors as a debut *formula*, structured through a greeting to the guests and a statement introducing the instructions featured in the following verses. The speaker would be about to “pronunciare un discorso conforme alle esigenze dell’occasione, un λόγος ἀγαθός” suitable to the hedonistic atmosphere of the occasion<sup>122</sup>, which should be spotted in the verses following the couplet. Therefore, the phrase ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ / ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν is often interpreted as “from good setting out, I purpose my poem for good”; “fine was my beginning and fine will be the end of my discourse”; “Con questo augurio [*scil.* χαίρετε] ho esordito e per il bene comune voglio terminare il mio dire”; “si es bueno el

---

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Vetta 1983, XXXV.

<sup>121</sup> Wilamowitz 1907, 63 thinks that “Mit diesem elegischen Spruche hat der Präside den Kommers eröffnet”. According to Ferrari 1989, 219, the identification of the speaker of vv. 1-2 with the guest is belied by the fact that in v. 9, the speaker addresses the *rex convivii* τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα. We will discuss the contradiction found by Ferrari later.

<sup>122</sup> Iskra-Marinçiq 1983, 19.

principio, bueno será el fin del discurso”<sup>123</sup>. However, some concerns about both, the opening function attributed to the χαίρετε and the anticipatory or introductory function of the sentence τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν of what follows (vv. 3 – 10), seem motivated as regards both γάρ in v. 2. and the relationship among the sequences ἀρξάμενος - τελέω ed ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ - εἰς ἀγαθόν. Moreover, the sequence of instructions in the following lines does not seem to develop a consistent set of advice as supposedly anticipated by the sentence τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν, it rather displays two different and probably opposed (cf. *infra*) modes of participating in the sympotic meeting. The particle γάρ motivates, explains something just pronounced<sup>124</sup> (cf. Denniston 1954<sup>2</sup>, 60 III, 1). In this light, the greeting formula χαίρετε συμπόται ἄνδρες would be actually logically explained by what follows ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν: in this light, then, the speaker 1) addresses the guests, greeting them *as / because* (γάρ) he has begun his speech ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ 2) states that he is concluding his speech εἰς ἀγαθόν. Therefore, the aorist participle ἀρξάμενος together with γάρ seems to place the onset of speech not so much in the present, or in the greeting addressed to guests in v. 1, but rather in the past, in an action already completed, probably an ἀγαθός speech with which the speaker has begun and that is not featured in the papyrus. The lack of a referent, to which the sequence ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ seems to allude, might be easily explained if we consider the elegy as an *excerptum* from a long poem or part of a sympotic chain<sup>125</sup>. In this light, the two phrases ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ and εἰς ἀγαθόν might have a more specific meaning than the simple *bene* suggested by the previous translations. While the former sequence should necessarily refer to a previous ἀγαθὸς λόγος pronounced earlier, the final wishing-good synthesized in sequence εἰς ἀγαθόν would be anything else but the *salute* of the first line, in

<sup>123</sup> Respectively, Farber 1996, 407; Gerber 1999, 489; Ferrari 1989, 227; Pordomingo 2013, 166.

<sup>124</sup> This function of γάρ was correctly reported by Ferrari 1989 221, who, however, interprets the couplet as an opening greeting to introduce the rules in vv. 3-10.

<sup>125</sup> I think the most likely hypothesis in this regard is Condello’s 2016. He imagines «precedenti parole di buon augurio, magari pronunciate nella forma delle tipiche preghiere d’esordio di cui ci danno testimonianza *inter alia*, i *Theognidea* (vv.1–18) e gli *skolia* attici (PMG 884–887)».

an almost self-referential way: “since I started with a good speech, I’ll finish it well, *salute*”. Thus, it would be a *salute* with either a farewell or a shifting function, resumed by the sentence τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγαθόν<sup>126</sup>.

The text that follows is sharply divided, outlining two moments and two distinct modes of the symposium: at first, it will give space to laughter, jokes, and jest χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ (vv. 4-6). The license must be followed by seriousness, a moment when the guests deliver performances, in turn, that will produce the ἀρετή of the symposium ἥδ’ ἀρετὴ συμποσίου πέλεται (vv. 7-8). All editors interpret the phrase in v. 4 χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ as an invitation to moderation, to avoid transgression and the degeneration of the symposium into a heated argument, to “ridere e scherzare praticando la virtù”, “ridere e scherzare, ma con grazia”, “behaving properly”<sup>127</sup>, such as many invitations recorded in e.g. Theognis’ anthology ll. 479-488; Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 621d or the prescriptions<sup>128</sup> described in Xenoph. 1, 15-18 W<sup>2</sup>.

Ferrari 1989, 221 thinks that the two occurrences of the word ἀρετή in vv. 4 and 8 could be an “intenzionale eco interna” although they have different meanings<sup>129</sup>: according to Ferrari *ibid.* the first occurrence χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ is an invitation to practice virtue “come eccellenza morale”, that is, not to neglect morality, even during the jesting phase<sup>130</sup>. The second occurrence would refer to the more archaic notion “di ἀρετή come ‘eccellenza’ o ‘perfezione’ all’interno di una determinata sfera di attività” and, thus, to the symposium’s virtue. Nevertheless, the *climax* in vv. 4-6 γελᾶν παίζειν, φλυαρεῖν, σκώπτειν τοιαῦθ’ οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν, that is, a succession of rather incisive words and far brighter tones than the simple sympotic παίζειν, lets us imagine a situation where a banquetter can pass from the simple joke to the jest and go further to the more

---

<sup>126</sup> For such functions of the verb χαίρω in elegiac context cf. Bartol 2000; Bartol 2001 and Condello 2016.

<sup>127</sup> Respectively Ferrari 1989, 227; E. Iskra-N. Marinčić 1983, 19; Pestman 1990, 71, also Gerber 1997, 489.

<sup>128</sup> For the risks of excess and invective in wine consumption, see Pellizer 1983, 29–41.

<sup>129</sup> But then both occurrences are translated by “virtù”, and the difference in meaning is, in fact, disregarded.

<sup>130</sup> Already Wilamowitz 1907, 63 «Die ἀρετή ist ganz moralisch geworden und die Mahnungen, sich gesittet zu benehmen, ziemlich philiströs».

incisive teasing, where some artistic “wriggle” is needed to create witty gags causing laughter. In this scenario, what kind of moral control, if any, could possibly find a place in what it is said? Our verses do not mention any limits to be respected nor excesses to be avoided, such as those traceable in the normative passages mentioned above:

Theogn. 475f. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ — μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιδέος οἴνου —  
ῥπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ’ ἰών.

“But as for me, I keep to my measure of honey-sweet wine, and so I shall go home ere I bethink me of care-easing sleep” (Tr. J.E. Edmonds)

and, later on:

Theogn. 479ff. ὃς δ’ ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος  
τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου·  
μυθεῖται δ’ ἀπάλαμνα, τὰ νήφοσι γίνεται αἰσχρά,  
αἰδεῖται δ’ ἔρδων οὐδέν, ὅταν μεθύῃ,  
τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων, τότε νήπιος ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα  
γινώσκων μὴ πῖν’ οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην

“whereas he that overpasses the due measure of drinking is no longer master either of his tongue or his mind, but telleth reckless things disgraceful to sober ears, and hath no shame in what he doeth in his cups, a wise man once, but now a fool. Knowing this, drink not thou to excess” (Tr. J.M. Edmonds)

Xenophanes claims that, once the libations have been offered and the prayers have been addressed to the gods:

Xenoph. 1,16-18 οὐχ ὕβρεις πίνειν δ’ ὅποσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκαιο οἴκαδ’  
G. – P. ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.

“there's no wrong in drinking just so much as will bring any but the very aged home without a servant” (Tr. J.E. Edmonds)

Therefore, in order to understand what situation is represented in these lines and what is the meaning of the construct *χρησάμενους ἀρετῇ*, we might refer both to the scene Ar. V. 1208-1325 and to a particularly significant passage of Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales*: the scene by Aristophanes features Philocleon instructed by the servant Xanthias on how to participate in a symposium. As it turns out in ll. 1299-1325, Xanthias's advice was unheeded. However, the inappropriate attitude, that the old man held during the symposial occasion does not appear to have been caused solely by drunkenness. What caused an out-of-place and obscene attitude is – as it is clearly stated – the ignorance and boorishness of the old man (vv. 1319-1321)

Ar. V. 1319-1321 Ξα. τοιαῦτα περιύβριζεν αὐτοὺς ἐν μέρει,  
σκώπτων ἀγροίκως καὶ προσέτι λόγους λέγων  
ἀμαθέστατ' οὐδὲν εἰκότας τῷ πράγματι

Xa. “That’s the sort of way he insulted them, one after another, making jokes rustically and also telling stories, being very ignorant, that had nothing to do with the situation.” (Tr. A.H. Sommerstein, partially modified)

On the other hand, that jokes and jests were admitted to a symposium is also evident from *Quaest. Conv.* 621d-f<sup>131</sup> and, in this case, the risk of immoderation would consist in creating inappropriate or embarrassing witticisms<sup>132</sup>, such as the ones attributed to Philocleon:

Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 621d-f ἔστι γὰρ καὶ γέλωτι χρῆσθαι  
πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ὠφελίμων καὶ σπουδῇν ἡδεῖαν παρασχεῖν  
[...] ὅσαι δ' ἄνευ σπουδῆς ἐπεισκωμάζουσιν τοῖς  
συμποσίοις παιδιαί, ταύτας ἐπιμελῶς διακελεύσεται τοῖς  
συμπόταις εὐλαβεῖσθαι

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Bremmer 1997, 13ff. with bibliography.

<sup>132</sup> Plutarch's text lists examples of embarrassing penances imposed by the symposiarch towards his guests, such as ordering stutterers to sing, bald people to comb their hair, or lame people to dance – all actions are beyond bounds of good taste, cf. 621e.



“For mirth may be exceeding useful, and make our grave discourses smooth and pleasant [...] But against vain and empty humors, that wantonly break in upon our feasts, he must caution the guests” (Tr. W. W. Goodwin)

Therefore, I believe that in our verses a “control” on the possible awkwardness of the licentious creations which are aimed at ridiculing the guests, is recommended. In this light, Condello 2016, 40 suggests to give the phrase in v. 4 χρειαζόμενους ἀρετῇ a dimension that is not moral, but of artistic “excellence” (cf. *GE s.v.*)<sup>133</sup>, probably recalling *Quaest. Conv.* 622a ἡδέως γὰρ εἰς τοῦθ’ ἕκαστος ἄγεται καὶ προθύμως, (Eur. fr. 183) ‘ὅν’ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνη κράτιστος ὢν.’

The following couplet vv. 7-8 tells us that the following and separate moment will be devoted to seriousness (ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω) The playful phase is to be left aside to listen to guests: ἀκούωμεν δὲ λεγόντων / ἐμ μέρει: ἡδ’ ἀρετὴ κυποκίου πέλεται. Ferrari 1989, 223 thinks that this second phase features a “philosophical” symposium, in which symposial songs are substituted by a chain of λόγοι. However, I do not deem necessary to suppose a performance of speeches, nor to assume a philosophical subject. In fact, the word λεγόντων in v. 7 is not exclusive of prose speeches and can also be referred to poetical performances: just refer to λόγον in l. 5 of the lyric verses and to λόγον in v. 2 of the elegy itself<sup>134</sup>. As for the relationship between the playful moment and seriousness in the symposial context, Ferrari *ibid.* perceives “il più preciso termine di confronto” in the epilog of Agathon’s speech in Plat. *Symp.* 197e Οὗτος, ἔφη, ὁ παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγος, ὦ Φαῖδρε, τῷ θεῷ ἀνακείσθω, τὰ μὲν παιδιᾶς, τὰ δὲ σπουδῆς μετρίας, καθ’ ὅσον ἐγὼ δύναμαι, μετέχων. However, in the Platonic passage, the two aspects παιδιᾶ and σπουδῆ cohabit (cf. μετέχων) and participate together with the construction of a rhetorically elaborated speech<sup>135</sup> whereas what is expressed in the elegy is definitely different. These are, in fact, two distinct moments, as pointed out by ἐπέσθω in v. 7. Furthermore, I think

---

<sup>133</sup> The translation by Faber 1996, 407 “putting excellence to use” seems quite appropriate.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Condello 2016, 41.

<sup>135</sup> As for the construction and laudatory rhetoric of Agathon’s speech cf. Dover, 2007<sup>16</sup> and S. Nannini-Giavatto 2008, LII–LVI.

that some opposition of almost polemical tone compared to the proposed mode from the previous tetrastich is underlined by the expression ἤδ' ἀρετὴ κυμποκίου πέλεται and by the crucial repetition of the word ἀρετή, that is it “virtue” and that emphasizes the alternation between a symposial mode and the other.

The last couplet of verses (vv. 9-10) concludes with an invitation to obey the symposiarch τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα and with the sentence ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐλογίαν τε φέρει. The reference to the symposiarch in v. 9 leads Ferrari 1989, 219 to believe that the *persona loquens* is not the *rex convivii*, as Wilamowitz proposed. Indeed, the salutation in vv.1-2 addressed to the guests would seem to suit well the figure of the person presiding over the banquet, but a reference to the symposiarch using the third person in vv. 9-10 would exclude this hypothesis<sup>136</sup>. This contradiction, however, exists only if the elegy in *P. Berol.* 13270 is considered a unified composition. Condello 2016 has recently provided a convincing interpretation of the elegiac verses, that is also supported by both acute lexical observations and precise parallelisms with similar structures in Theognis' anthology that solve the impasse encountered by Ferrari. According to Condello 2016, 33 the preserved verses can easily be interpreted as “una *suite* di diversi interventi” which logically feature a speaker exchange among interventions: vv. 1-2 would record the intervention of the symposiarch or “Simposiasta A”, referring to a lyric opening to be placed prior to the analysed verses. Vv. 3-6 would feature the intervention of a different speaker, who foreshadows a banquet of recreational and jesting type. This is followed in vv. 7-8 by the intervention, perhaps controversial, of a third guest, who appeals to σπουδῇ in the next phase of the symposium. Therefore, a fourth speaker intervenes in vv. 9-10 “a scopo di composizione e quasi di ‘arbitraggio’ finale” (Condello 2016).

Despite the occurrences of terms typical to metasymphotic elegiac production, such as the initial greeting, the normative χρῆ in v. 3, and the

---

<sup>136</sup> Ferrari 1989, 219 points out the contradiction in identifying the *persona loquens* with the symposiarch. Neither Pestman 1990, 70, nor Farber 1996, 407, nor Pordomingo 2013, 168 noticed this discrepancy. In this regard, also see Condello 2016.

invitation to obey the symposiarch, the elegy is different from the type of simple normative texts and it is not inviting to avoid excess in wine consumption, but rather in raillery: it rather portrays two different ways of running a symposium, which evidently were thought both as possible and current at the time of writing the text. Furthermore, the elegiac verses preserved in *P. Berol.* 13270 seem to record a series of symposial short performances, that, at least when the text column was written, were coagulated into one unit. It cannot be determined whether the assembly is the work of those who penned the text or if it occurred at an earlier time, as it cannot be determined whether the column of the text on the papyrus presupposes an exemplar from which it was copied, *in toto* or in part. This is particularly interesting when considered in the light of the lyrical verses preceding the elegiac text: the textual material collected in *P. Berol.* 13270 consists of portions of agglomerated texts in an anthology in which, however, it is possible to detect inconsistencies and discrepancies.

## 6. A symposium

«Sergente Lorusso: “Ci hanno lasciato qua e noi qua ci stiamo.  
Ci hanno detto: ‘arrangiatevi!’ e noi ci arrangiamo!” »  
G. Salvatores, *Mediterraneo*

We have seen that the verses collected in our Elephantine papyrus appear as a private collection of texts, devoid of any scholarly purpose, belonging to some members – or just one member – of the Greek community on the island. From a content-related point of view, we have then seen that the text recorded on papyrus testifies the survival of symposial practice. Therefore, it is now appropriate to investigate what type of symposium could take place in the cultural context of Hellenistic Egypt, which were the most suitable entertainments, and which was the circulation and fruition of literary texts in a sympotic context.

The primary function of the institution of the symposium has always been to aggregate a group of people, usually almost exclusively male, who share ideals and bylaws. If both the practice of sharing ideals and the sense of belonging to an exclusive circle of people are the glue of the symposium<sup>137</sup>, in the course of its history we can see changes in forms, methods, in how guests were recruited, as well as how they were entertained. The antecedent of archaic and classical symposium consists of the Homeric military *élite* meetings<sup>138</sup>, characterized by the consumption of food and beverages and aiming at strengthening ties among the participants, as pointed out by Murray 1983, 51

---

<sup>137</sup> About symposium's history and functions cf. Murray 1980, 197–203; Vetta, 1983; Fisher 1988; Murray 1990, 3-13; Burton 1992. Vössing 2004.

<sup>138</sup> Which are, however, probably not historically correct depictions.

«the aristocratic sympotic life-style is a development from the Homeric warrior-feast under the influence of orientalising luxury; its origin is in the functional importance of the aristocratic warrior-group consolidated by mutual feasting in the dark age of Greece». A large section of *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaeus<sup>139</sup> is actually devoted to the description of Homeric symposia, to which the poet of Naucratis compares critically Epicurus' symposium<sup>140</sup>. So, we know that Homeric symposia featured an initial phase dedicated to drinking, that participants were invited, and that they differed by age and interests:

Ath. V 187a-b τοιγαροῦν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ μετὰ τὸ  
πιεῖν *II*. VII 324 τοῖς δ' ὁ γέρον πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν  
ἤρχετο μῆτιν [...] ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀμηρος ἡλικίαις  
εἰσάγει διαφέροντας καὶ ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοὺς  
κεκλημένους, Νέστορα καὶ Αἴαντα καὶ Ὀδυσσεά,  
τὸ μὲν καθόλου σύμπαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς  
ἀντεχομένους

“In Homer (*II*. VII 324), accordingly, after the drinking ‘the old man, first of all, began to weave a plan for them’ [...] Furthermore, Homer introduces guests who differ in their ages and interests, such as Nestor, Ajax, and Odysseus, who are utterly devoted to excellence but pursue it by different paths.” (Tr. S. D. Olson)

In this case, what bonds Homer's heroes—symposiarchs is, of course, ἀρετή. A little further on, we read that Homer features διάφορα παρατιθέμενος συμπόσια, as if Athenaeus were tracking in the Homeric *corpus* the antecedent of the different types of symposia, that will be developed in later times:

Ath. V 177b C. ἐστὶν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν τῶν  
μνηστήρων οἶον ἂν γένοιτο νεανίσκων μέθαις καὶ  
ἔρωσιν ἀνακειμένων, τὸ δὲ τῶν Φαιάκων  
εὐσταθέστερον μὲν τούτων, φιλήδονον δέ. τούτοις  
δ' ἀντέθηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς, τὰ δὲ  
πολιτικώτερον τελούμενα σωφρόνως. καὶ πάλιν αὖ

<sup>139</sup> Ath. V 186d–193c.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Usener 1887, 115–119.

διεῦλεν τὰ μὲν δημοθoinίαν ἔχοντα, τὰ δ' οἰκείων  
σύνοδον.

“Thus he has the Suitor’s symposium, which is what one would expect when young men devote themselves to getting drunk and having love affairs, as well as the Phaeacians’ symposium, which is quieter than the Suitor’s but still devoted to pleasure. He contrasted these with the symposia that take place during military campaigns, on the one hand, and those that occur in a more civic setting and a sober fashion, on the other. Again, he distinguished between those that involve public feasting and a family gathering.” (Tr. S. D. Olson)

One of the most important distinctions<sup>141</sup> among the types of symposia detected by Athenaeus is the private or public nature of the meetings<sup>142</sup> and this is particularly significant in order to analyze the dynamics that characterize the symposium in its evolution.

With the advent of the city-state, the symposium sets itself up as a strictly private, masculine, and aristocratic meeting. The core of the organization of the symposium is *ἐταιρεία*. The meeting of the guests is regulated by a precise setting of rules: first of all, it is always chaired by a symposiarch. At the center of the room, there is the crater full of wine mixed with water. After the ritual libation (*δεῖπνον*), community consumption of wine will take its place and will be accompanied by songs, music, and entertainments (*συμπόσιον*). In turn, the guests perform accompanied either by a lyre or by *aulos*. The topics discussed during the symposium vary from self-referential praise of wine and drinking to invectives against political enemies, to the praise of exemplary civic behaviors, up to the evocation of the bitter-sweet effects of love<sup>143</sup>.

---

<sup>141</sup> A further distinction lies in the invitation, according to which Homer made a difference between those who had to be invited and those who took part on their own initiative, cf. Ath. V 177c ἐδίδαξεν δ' Ὅμηρος καὶ οὐδ' οὐδὲ καλεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτους ἰέναι, πρεπόντως ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων παρουσίαν.

<sup>142</sup> I do not mean to analyze here the merits of historical and linguistic implications of the “public” and “private” categories in the ancient Greek world. For a definition, cf. Schmitt-Pantel 1997, 107–113.

<sup>143</sup> For a list of different types of compositions that could be performed in a symposium, cf. e.g. Vetta 1983, XIII–LX.

At this stage, the main function of the symposium is not only that of an aggregation within which participants consolidate social and political ties, but it is also the privileged place for monodic archaic lyric poetry's diffusion and performance – such as that by Archilochus, Solon, Theognis, Alcaeus, and Hipponax. Although being written for the “here and now” and being strictly connected with the occasion and the contemporary political situation, monodic lyric poetry has established itself as a poetic heritage in the symposium, which ensures its preservation and transmission. From “circumstance” literature it becomes part of a traditional *corpus* of themes and forms that can also be reused in new symposial occasions.

In response to the push towards performances of a public nature, advocated in classical and democratic Athens, the symposium has survived as a traditional form of strictly private gathering. The purely political nature, which certainly can not be excluded, is joined by a lighter and playful aspect, that is entertainment, also including literary forms such as the epigram or the *excerpta* from choral lyric or drama in their monodic reuse<sup>144</sup>. Even if it is difficult to determine whether, in this period, the symposium is a conservative place, or if it is open to experimentation, including literary experimentation, the famous symposial scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds* seems to show how some genres were commonly accepted or even considered old-fashioned in the symposium, while “trendy” melodies and songs were about to be incorporated in the sympotic repertoire. As a matter of fact, Strepsiades tells how Pheidippides refused to perform a piece by Simonides during a symposium:

Ar. *Nub.* 1354–1365

Στ. [...] 'πειδὴ γὰρ εἰσιτώμεθ', ὥσπερ ἴστε,  
 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ' ἐγὼ 'κέλευσα  
 ῥῆσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κριόν, ὡς ἐπέχθη.  
 ὁ δ' εὐθέως ἀρχαῖον εἶν' ἔφασκε τὸ κιθαρίζειν  
 ῥῆδεν τε πίνονθ' ὥσπερ εἰ κάχρυσ γυναῖκ' ἀλοῦσαν.  
 Φε. οὐ γὰρ τότ' εὐθὺς χρῆν σ' ἀράττεσθαί τε καὶ πατεῖσθαι,

<sup>144</sup>According to Aloni 1990, 105 “lo scolio non sembra altro che il riuso monodico di un testo di altra origine e/o di diverse modalità originarie di esecuzione, nell'ambito del simposio”. Cf. Vetta 1983, 119–131.

ἄδειν κελεύονθ' ὥσπερ εἰ τέττιγά μ' ἐστιῶντα;  
Στ. τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ τότε ἔλεγεν ἔνδον οἰάπερ νῦν,  
καὶ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔφασκε εἶναι κακὸν ποιητήν.  
κἀγὼ μόλις μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἠνεσχόμην τὸ πρῶτον·  
ἔπειτα δ' ἐκέλευσ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μυρρίνην λαβόντα  
τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξαι τί μοι·

St: Well, now, I will tell you from what we first began to  
rail at one another. After we had feasted, as you know, I  
first bade him take a lyre, and sing a song of Simonides,  
“The Shearing of the Ram.” But he immediately said it  
was old-fashioned to play on the lyre and sing while  
drinking, like a woman grinding parched barley.  
Phid: For ought you not then immediately to be beaten and  
trampled on, bidding me sing, just as if you were  
entertaining cicadae?  
St: He expressed, however, such opinions then too within,  
as he does now; and he asserted that Simonides was a bad  
poet. I bore it at first, with difficulty indeed, yet  
nevertheless, I bore it. And then I bade him at least take a  
myrtle-wreath and recite to me some portion of Aeschylus;  
(Tr. W. J. Hickie)

Pheidippides' refusal staged by Aristophanes is not limited to the simple execution of a piece by Simonides, as it points out that the very act of singing songs accompanied by the kithara was “out of fashion”. Moreover, thanks to Strepsiades' invitation to perform something by Aeschylus, we can assume that excerpts from the tragedian's production were a well-established part of a traditionally symposial heritage. Since Pheidippides refuses even to perform a passage by Aeschylus, Strepsiades allows his interlocutor to stage something “more modern”:

Ar. *Nub.* 1365–1365  
Στ. [...] κἄθ' οὗτος εὐθὺς εἶπεν·  
“ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν ποιηταῖς  
ψόφου πλέων, ἀξύστατον, στόμφακα, κρημνοποιόν.”  
κάνταῦθα πῶς οἷσθέ μου τὴν καρδίαν ὀρεχθεῖν;  
ὅμως δὲ τὸν θυμὸν δακὼν ἔφην· “σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τούτων  
λέξον τι τῶν νεωτέρων, ἅττ' ἐστὶ τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα.”  
ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἦσ' Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσιν τιν', ὥς ἐκίνει



ἀδελφός, ὦλεξίκακε, τὴν ὁμομητρίαν ἀδελφὴν.

St: [...] and then he immediately said, “Shall I consider Aeschylus the first among the poets, full of empty sound, unpolished, bombastic, using rugged words?” And hereupon you can't think how my heart panted. But, nevertheless, I restrained my passion, and said, “At least recite some passage of the more modern poets, of whatever kind these clever things be.” And he immediately sang a passage of Euripides, how a brother, O averter of ill! Depraved his uterine sister. (Tr. W. J. Hickie)

From the funny dialogue staged for the first time in 423 BC by Aristophanes, we can deduce which genres were normally expected during symposia. Furthermore, Pheidippides' audacity in proposing a Euripidean *rhesis* seems to testify some kind of opening of the symposium towards “new” forms and genres, though perhaps reluctantly<sup>145</sup>. Besides, it is also worth mentioning that the sympotic gathering was also assuming the feature of a philosophical meeting as well – just like the one depicted in Plato's *Symposium*, where songs and opera performances gave way to intellectual debate.

The strictly private character of the symposium so far described is opposed to the Spartan practice of *syssitia*. In his biography of Lycurgus, Plutarch states that the institution of *syssitia* is the “third and the most beautiful of his reforms”:

Plu. *Lyc.* X. 1–3. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθείς, τὸ τρίτον πολίτευμα καὶ κάλλιστον ἐπῆγε, τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων κατασκευήν, ὥστε δειπνεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων συνιόντας ἐπὶ κοινοῖς καὶ τεταγμένοις ὄψοις καὶ σιτίοις, οἵκοι δὲ μὴ διαιτᾶσθαι κατακλινέντας εἰς στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας [...] χρήσις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ ὅψις ὅλως ἢ ἐπίδειξις τῆς πολλῆς παρασκευῆς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖπνον τῷ πένητι τοῦ πλουσίου βαδίζοντος· ὥστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ

---

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Capra 2009, 460ff.

θρυλούμενον ἐν μόνῃ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων τῇ  
Σπάρτῃ βλέπεσθαι

“With a view to attack luxury still more and remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third and most exquisite political device, namely, the institution of common messes, so that they might eat with one another in companies, of common and specified foods, and not take their meals at home, reclining on costly couches at costly tables [...] For the rich man could neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his abundant means, when he went to the same meal as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of all the cities under the sun.” (Tr. B. Perrin)

These are strictly public banquets, where citizens used to meet and enjoy the same simple meal. Indeed, from Plutarch’s text emerges the refusal of the private sphere, of the excessive meal, and of ostentation under a community-oriented and equaling rule.

With the decline and fall of the city-state, the colonization and the spread of Greek culture during the Hellenistic period, it is likely that also the practice of symposium underwent some changes.

We know that public symposia – aimed at celebrating the prestige of the ruler – were organized at the court of Hellenistic sovereigns<sup>146</sup>. On such circumstances, performances of various kinds took place, it was the occasion when «poets, scientists, and technicians presented their work, and courtiers entered into erudite competition in the field of literature and philosophy»<sup>147</sup>. With regards to the private sphere, we can assume that dispersion, mobility, and the establishment of Greek communities in areas not traditionally belonging to Greek culture necessarily brought a need for private aggregation in order to restore a «sense of community and self-identity»<sup>148</sup>. In fact, numerous Greek inscriptions and documents written on papyri testify that private associations, aggregations, and gatherings were a common feature of Hellenistic and Graeco-

---

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Strootman 2010; Cameron 1995, 73ff. For a study on the spaces devoted to the symposium during the Hellenistic era, cf. Tomlinson 1970 and Borza 1983.

<sup>147</sup> Strootman 2014, 189.

<sup>148</sup> Burton 1992, 234.

Roman Egypt<sup>149</sup>. We have records of rules and lists of members belonging to different type of associations, such as professional guilds or religious associations of people devoted to a specific deity<sup>150</sup>. All members were usually required to observe specific rules, to pay a contribution, and to attend to communal drinking gatherings on specified occasions<sup>151</sup>. With regards to the practice of sympotic meetings within members of an association, a large number of ostraka retrieved in 2002-2003 from an excavation at two *deipneteria* situated in the southeastern area of the city of Tebtunis is particularly interesting, as explained by Reiter 2003. A group of about 100 of them records bills of supplies consisting of beer, much likely intended for collective drinking during symposia<sup>152</sup>. A second group of more than 50 ostraka consists of labels and they record names of roles or duties performed by the members of an association, such as κλισίαρχος, συναγωγός, προστάτης, ἀγορανόμος, ἡγο(ύμενος)<sup>153</sup>. Those designations are sometimes accompanied by the indication of the dining position reserved to each of them when attending a sympotic meeting, in accordance with their role and with the disposition of the couches<sup>154</sup>.

As for the contents and the songs performed during Hellenistic private symposia, the most direct sources are the collections of sympotic texts preserved on papyri and found in different areas of Ptolemaic Egypt.

---

<sup>149</sup> Fisher 1988, 1185–95; Muhs 2001:

<sup>150</sup> For a complete overview of the different type of associations cf. Poland 1909; Brashear 1993, 19-32.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. e.g. *P. Grenf.* I, 31 (TM 48349), probably a loan document of the III BC making references to fellow society members; *P. Lond.* VII, 2193 (TM 2462), a document of the I BC prescribing the fellows to arrange one banquet a month (cf. Roberts-Skeat-Nock, 1936). The beverage could have been either beer or wine, cf. Muhs 2001, 5f.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Reiter 2005, 133-136. For beer supplies for a specific association in Tebtunis cf. e.g. *P. Mich.* V, 322b, dated after the 13<sup>th</sup> May 51 AD (TM 12133)

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Reiter 2005, 136.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Reiter 2005, 136ff. For the explanation of the term μέση as the indication of the prominent position reserved to a symposiast cf. Reiter 2003, 137-139. For the prominence of the *medius lectus* at symposia cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* I, 619b-f.

The recent and exhaustive work by Pordomingo<sup>155</sup> systematically analyzes all Hellenistic anthologies on papyrus and has the advantage of giving us an introduction and an accurate historical and cultural framework. However, in order to set the texts stored on *P. Berol.* 13270 against the restricted context at our disposal, it is worth recalling briefly what other Ptolemaic papyri can be considered symposial anthologies with good certainty.

The symposial frame of the text registered in *P. Tebt.* I, 1 and 2 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1606; *LDAB* 6894 and MP<sup>3</sup> 1607; *LDAB* 6895) has been commonly recognized<sup>156</sup>. Coming from Tebtynis and extracted from the *cartonnage* of a mummy, both papyri date back to the II–I century BC, were written by the same hand, and feature largely the same content: we can trace a ‘Monody of Helen’, in which the protagonist laments being abandoned by Menelaus, a second aria apparently originally composed to be performed by a *virtuoso*<sup>157</sup>, that features the bucolic description of a mountain landscape, two couplets in the form of ‘question and answers’ of erotic theme, and a lyrical sequence, probably a mime, on the relationship between love and wine<sup>158</sup>. In both papyri, the sequence of texts is not marked according to a homogeneous criterion and we can find *paragraphoi*, *vacua* or *eistheseis*, sometimes one text is separated from the following one by the word ἄλλο.

*P. Petrie* F 134 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1618.1; *LDAB* 7501) is a small fragment coming from the Fayûm, again an extract from a *cartonnage*. On its *recto*, four lines of lyric text about love, wine, and music can be read. Although the bottom margin is large enough to contain a few more lines of text and at the end of the fourth line we can read the word ἄλλο, no other compositions are written. Therefore, it is likely that the fragment was copied from a more extensive anthology and that

---

<sup>155</sup> Pordomingo 2013.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Ferrari 1989, 185 ff.; Pernigotti – Maltomini 2002, 75ff.

<sup>157</sup> This hypothesis is advanced by Pordomingo 2013, 161.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Pordomingo 2013 161, 171-180.

the compiler reported the headword, that was originally used to separate the different anthologized texts<sup>159</sup>.

In addition to the direct sources, Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* provides us with some important informations about the sympotic practice – although related to a later period than our papyrus'. The 8. problem of VII book is dedicated to the most suitable entertainment for a symposium. The question is posed in these terms (Plu. VII 711a): Τίσι μάλιστα χρηστέον ἀκροάμασι παρὰ δειπνον and the participants in the debate are Plutarch, a sophist, Philippus, and Diogenianus. Without going too deep into each character's view and preferences, the simple fact that Philippus is willing to banish the performances of Platonic dialogues, as well as the songs by Sappho and Anacreon testifies, conversely, that these were part of the contemporary symposial repertoire. Then, the attention is drawn to drama: if, on the one hand, tragic passages are definitely to be avoided because characterized by πάθος καὶ οἶκτος and therefore not suitable for the atmosphere of the symposium (711e), comedy, on the other hand, is acceptable but a clear distinction between the Ancient and the New must be made (711f). According to the character Diogenianus, the Ancient one would be poorly suited to symposiasts, because it is considered 'non-homogeneous' and *parabaseis* are too 'heavy' and characterized by too much freedom of speech and invective. Moreover, it should be stressed that the main feature leading Diogenianus to exclude Ancient Comedy from symposial repertoire is the fact that it is closely related to the contemporary events and dynamics of the *polis*, portraying a society so far and deeply different from the current one, that, in order to understand its allusions and jokes, a schoolmaster would be needed:

Plu. *Quaes. Conv.* 712a ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς δειπνοῖς ἐκάστῳ παρέστηκε τῶν κατακειμένων οἰνοχόος, οὕτω δεήσει γραμματικὸν ἐκάστῳ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖσθαι, τίς ὁ Λαίσποδίας παρ' Εὐπόλιδι καὶ ὁ Κινησίας παρὰ Πλάτῳ καὶ ὁ Λάμπων παρὰ Κρατίνῳ, καὶ τῶν κωμωδουμένων ἕκαστος, ὥστε γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τὸ

---

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Pordomingo 2013, 169.

συμπόσιον ἢ κωφὰ καὶ ἄσημα τὰ σκώμματα  
διαφέρεσθαι.

“What is more, just as a special waiter stands by each guest, at the banquets of the great, so everyone would need his own scholar to explain the allusions: who is Laespodias in Eupolis, and Cinesias in Plato, and Lampon in Cratinus, and so on with all the persons satirized in the plays. Our dinner party would turn into a schoolroom, or else the jokes would be without meaning or point.”  
(Tr. E. L. Minar)

But, on the other hand, the New Comedy became part of the symposial heritage to the point that (712b) ὥς μᾶλλον ἂν οἴνου χωρὶς ἢ Μενάνδρου διακυβερνῆσαι τὸν πότον. A place of respect in the symposial entertainment is reserved to lyra and *aulos*, and then, to the recitation of verses belonging to lyrical passages and accompanied by a musical instrument:

Plu. *Quaes. Conv.* 712f-713a ἀλλ’ ἢ γε κιθάρα πάλαι  
που καὶ καθ’ Ὅμηρον ἔτι τοῖς χρόνοις γνωρίμη τῆς  
δαιτός ἐστιν, καὶ μακρὰν οὕτως φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν  
οὐ πρέπει διαλύειν [...] τὸν δ’ αὐλὸν οὐδὲ  
βουλομένοις ἀπώσασθαι τῆς τραπέζης ἔστιν· αἱ γὰρ  
σπονδαὶ ποθοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ  
συνεπιφθέγγεται τῷ παιᾶνι τὸ θεῖον, [...].

“The lyre has been since ancient times, both in Homer’s era and on down to our own, a familiar member of the banquet, and we ought not to dissolve an intimate association of such long standing [...] The flute we could not drive away from the table if we wanted to; it is essential to our libations as the garland, and it helps impart a religious tone to the singing of the paeon.” (Tr. E. L. Minar)

From the evidence obtainable from papyri and Plutarch’s texts we can infer that the practice of the symposium persists on having its aggregative function and it was still the place of fruition of a selected literary heritage. The choice of texts was to fall on genres and topics that could be made current, avoiding references to circumstances too distant in time.

In this brief overview, the contribution provided by the texts preserved in *P. Berol.* 13270 should be highlighted: it is an important direct witness of the survival of choral lyric *excerpta*, of symposial arrays of metaphors, and of a

sympotic elegy bearing some classical flavor during the Hellenistic period. Indeed, the texts anthologized in our papyrus let transpire a taste detectable in texts intended for symposia dating back to V-IV century BC. Although they bear no direct reference to the political or social reality of the time, the instance of the metaphor of the ship preserved in our papyrus takes on the shape of a traditional motif that is featured during symposia. In a similar way, the reference to *epos* and to the Trojan saga can only highlight the Hellenic community identity, as well as the normative elegy hands down the rules to follow during a symposium, addressing ‘people of the same age’, recalling the obedience to the symposiarch, and regulating the performance executions of the guests in turn. However, this is not surprising. We have seen that the symposium is the place of reuse and, therefore, of the transmission of a certain literary and cultural heritage. So, it is quite plausible and understandable that the Greek community of Elephantine drew from a repertory of consolidated tradition in order to strengthen their own cultural identity. The Hellenistic symposium, which is the context of *P. Berol.* 13270, is set up as an institution that has its roots in the Greek cultural tradition of the mother country.

The anthologized texts were likely recited during the meetings and the papyri likely served as a written support, some kind of plot, for symposial performances<sup>160</sup>. Del Corso 2005, 114-121 has no doubts; he believes, and rightly so, that such collections of texts were «concepito, per contenuto e caratteristiche grafico-bibliologiche, per un utilizzo diretto durante il simposio»<sup>161</sup>. Given the types of texts and the evidence of written materials, I think we can safely assume that those texts were meant to be read. As a matter of fact, it’s hard to imagine that passages belonging either to comedies or to the lyric repertoire could simply be learned by heart. Moreover, Del Corso 2005, 123, thinks that the use of the word ἀκρόαμα in Plutarch’s passage (711a) suggests that the executive mode of those symposial entertainments actually was reading aloud. Even if Plutarch’s text makes no clear reference to reading, it

---

<sup>160</sup> According to the theory of *Kommersbuch* by Reitzenstein 1893, 13ff. and Wilamowitz 1900, 37, then recovered by Fabbro 1995, 25.

<sup>161</sup> Del Corso 2005, 117.

might be useful to combine the above-quoted passages with some informations traceable in the short treatise *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*, where Plutarch, again, recommends the exercise of the voice through reading aloud and declamation:

Plu. *Mor.* XVI 130a-c ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ λόγου  
χρεία διὰ φωνῆς περαινομένη θαυμαστὸν οἶόν ἐστι  
γυμνάσιον οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
ἰσχύν, [...] ἡ δὲ φωνή, τοῦ πνεύματος οὕσα κίνησις,  
οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πηγαῖς περὶ τὰ  
σπλάγχνα ῥωννυμένη, τὸ θερμὸν αὔξει καὶ λεπτύνει  
τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν ἐκκαθαίρει φλέβα, [...] διὸ  
δεῖ μάλιστα ποιεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ  
συνήθεις καὶ συντρόφους ἐνδελεχῶς λέγοντας, ἂν δ'  
ἢ τις ὑποψία τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεέστερον ἢ  
κοπωδέστερον ἔχοντος, ἀναγιγνώσκοντας ἢ  
ἀναφωνοῦντας.

“For it is wonderful what an exercise the daily use of speech is, not only as to health but even to strength. [...] Now the voice, being a motion of the spirit, not superficially but firmly seated in the bowels, as it were in a fountain, increases the heat, thins the blood, purges every vein [...] Wherefore we ought by much speaking to accustom ourselves to this exercise, and make it familiar to us; and if we suspect that our bodies are weaker or more tired than ordinary, by reading or reciting.” (Tr. W. W. Goodwin)

A little further on, after listing the effects of wine on both body and mind, and after advising its correct consummation, Plutarch goes on to meals. Criticizing those, who indulge in the desires and temptations of the stomach, he also counts among the distractions of the educated man against the temptations of food the practice of reading at the table, which would bring benefits to both body and spirit:

Plu. *Mor.* XX 132f-133a φιλόλογον δ' ἄνδρα καὶ  
φιλόμουσον ἐν καιρῷ δεομένῳ βραδυτέρου δείπνου  
διάγραμμα παρακείμενον ἢ τι βιβλίδιον ἢ λύριον οὐ  
προίενται τῇ γαστρὶ λεηλατούμενον, ἀλλ'  
ἀποστρέφων συνεχῶς καὶ μεταφέρων ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὴν



διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὥσπερ Ἄρπυίας τὰς  
ὀρέξεις διασοβήσει ταῖς Μούσαις.

“But a lover of learning and a friend to the Muses, when at any time he is forced to sup later than ordinary, will not be so much a slave to his belly as to lay aside a geometrical scheme, or a book, or a lyre when it is before him, but strenuously turning himself, and taking his mind off from eating, he will in the Muses' name drive away all such desires, as so many Harpies, from his table.” (Tr. W. W. Goodwin)

In this case, the advice listed by Plutarch is not directly connected with the symposial practice and there is no reference to the entertainment level, and yet they show that – at the time of Plutarch – reading was expected and even recommended, at least during the δεῖπνον.

In this light, I think the function and use of symposial anthologies on papyri belonging to Hellenistic period is fully explained: they are either private copies, used by a single individual who went to symposium bringing along his own collection of texts that would be used during the time dedicated to declamation, or anthologies that circulated within a small circle of people, some chosen *corpora* of texts that the community possessed and used communally, actually, during symposia.

A final element – to be taken into account in order to try and provide a complete picture of the context related to the collection of symposial texts on papyrus – is how such anthologies were compiled. Copying from an antigraph seems the most likely hypothesis. Another option on how to draw up symposial passages can perhaps be grasped in the short and effective sequence καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυσε that closes an epigram by the Hellenistic poet Hedylus. The passage is quoted by Athenaeus XI 473d in order to explain the word κάδος, that is used either to indicate a container for liquids of various capacities or as a measure:

APHed. 6 G-P Ἐξ ἡοῦς εἰς νύκτα, καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν Πασισωκλῆς  
εἰς ἡοῦν πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις·  
εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἷχεται· ἀλλὰ παρ' οἶνον  
Σικελίδου παίζει πουλὺ μελιχρότερον.  
Ἐστὶ δὲ δὴ πουλὺ στιβαρώτερος· ὥς δ' ἐπιλάμπει

ἡ χάρις ὥστε, φίλος, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυε.

“From dawn to dusk and again from dusk to dawn  
Pasisocles has been drinking from gallon-sized jugs.  
and then – snap – he’s off on a whim. Still, even drunk  
he tosses off a funny one much sweeter than Sicelides  
but, you know, that’s his constitution. So brilliant  
is his charm, that, friend, well...write and drink up, too!” (Tr. J. S. Bruss)

As Gow and Page<sup>162</sup> explain, the epigram «was no doubt intended for, and perhaps composed impromptu on, some convivial occasion». The symposial destination of the epigram is indisputable and its meta-symposial characteristic is also evident. But what is even more interesting is the fact that it explicitly refers to putting in writing a composition during the symposium. As a matter of fact, impromptu writing of ongoing convivial performances could be one of the sources for the compilation of anthologies, like the one preserved by *P. Berol.* 13270.

---

<sup>162</sup> Gow-Page 1965, 293.

**Text**

# 1. Diplomatic transcription

1 [...]αιθυγατ[  
 2 [...].λε[...].σιταφερων[  
 .... 3 [...]αμο.τεμενηβ[.....]ων[  
 4 [...].κερα[.]ονχαριτωνκρατη[.].επ....φ[.].ακ[.....]ρο..[.]ε  
 5 [...].γονζημαινεοτιπαρθεν[.].ναπε[.]ρο..πλεξομ.νυμνοικ  
 6 [...]ανδοριζωματικειραμεναντρ[.]αν..ι[.]ονπαρναυσινα`ει`μνα[.]τοικαλοντα  
 7 νυκτιβατανκκο[.]πονωμους[.]γανομματεματερ.υνεπισπεοςωντεκνων  
 8 [...].....[...].ωιαρτιβρυουσαναωιδανπρωτοπαγειοφαιδια.οικιλονεκφερομεν  
 9 [.....]ιτεγξαν.αχελωιουδρο[.....]παραιοιωνυφει[.]οδαλυξανου  
 10 πτε...ασταχοιεσολεπτολιθω[.....].:ευ:καθοραπελαγοςπαργαν  
 11 εκφευγενοτουχαλεπανφοβερα[.....]ντοπλανημανιαν

---

1 τ[.]: a tiny trace of ink in the lower margin of the *lacuna*. 2 λε: horizontal stroke as of π. 3 Out of the text column, traces of ink on the upper left margin, ; αμο[.]: traces of a vertical stroke, probably *iota*; β[.]: end of a vertical stroke extended below the baseline, likely ι, υ, κ, or ρ. 4 ]κ: vertical lightly hooked to the left; ]ε: trace of a diagonal descending to right as of α, δ, or λ; επ....φ[ : traces of ink in the lower margin of the *lacuna*; α ακ[.]: a trace of a vertical stroke below the baseline, likely ι, υ, or ρ; ρο[.]: vertical stroke partially in *lacuna* and trace of a distant second upright on the baseline. At the end of the line empty space of about five letters. 5 παρθεν[.]ν: tiny trace of ink. At the end of the line empty space of about ten letters. 6 αν..ι: tiny traces of ink; 7 κο[.]π: one letter abraded; ρ, υν: tiny trace of ink in the middle of the line. 8 ]...[...].ωι: few traces on the upper margin of the *lacuna*. 9 At the end of the line empty space of about two letters. 10 ]πτε...α: a few traces of ink; λεπτολιθω: traces of a letter partially in *lacuna*, likely a ν (cf. 1.7 *ωντεκνων*); ]:ευ: : end of an upright crossed in its middle by a small horizontal stroke, likely η or φ. At the end of the line empty space of about two letters.

- 12 χαιρετεσυμποταιανδρεομ[.....]ξαγαθουγαρ  
 13 αρξαμενοστελεωτονλογον.ιγαγ[...].  
 14 χρηδοτανειστοιουτοϋσυνελθωμενφιλ.ι'ανδρε  
 15 πραγμαγελανπαιζεινχρησαμενοϋσαρετηι  
 16 ηδεσθαιτεσυγοντασεσαλληλουςτεφ[.]υαρειν  
 17 καισκωπτειντοιαυταοιαγελωταφερειν  
 18 ηδεσπουδηεπεσθωακουωμεν....εγοντων  
 19 εμμερειηδαρετησυμποσιουπελεται  
 20 τουδεποταρχουντος[...]]πειθωμεθαταυταγαρεστιν  
 21 εργανδρωναγαθωνευλογιαντεφερειν

**13** After λογον empty space of about one letter; [...], trace of a vertical line. **14** φιλ. : on the top of the *lacuna* the upper bow, likely of an *omicron* ο; **18** υ...ε : a trace of an apex or a vertical stroke, probably ι, κ, δ, α, λ; slightly rounded stroke; the final part of a vertical stroke.

μουσαι

ευφωρατ[...]

μνημοσυνη

On the left margin of the column, close to lines 7-9 three words written obliquely one under the other.

## 2. Edition

ed. pr. = Wilamowitz 1907; Powell = Powell 1925; Manteuffel = Manteuffel 1930; Edmonds = Edmonds 1940; Diehl = Diehl 1942; Page<sup>1</sup> = D. L. Page 1950; Page<sup>2</sup> = Page 1962; Ferrari = Ferrari 1989; Casagrande = Casagrande 1983; Fabbro = Fabbro 1983; Iskra-Marinić = Iskra-Marinić 1983; Bravo = Bravo 1997; Pordomingo = Pordomingo 2013; Condello = Condello 2016.

- 1     [... ]αι θυγάτηρ[  
2     [... ]λξ[... ]α cίτα φέρων[  
.... 3     [... ]α μοι τεμένη β[.....]ων[  
4     [ἐ]γκέρα[σ]ον χαρίτων κρατή[ρ]α ἐπιστεφ[έ]α κ[.....] π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε  
5     [λό]γον cήμαινε ὅτι παρθέν[ω]ν ἀπε[ί]ροσι πλέζομεν ὕμνοις  
6     [τ]ὰν δοριζώματι κειραμέναν Τρ[οί]αν καὶ [τ]ὸν παρὰ ναυτὶν ἀειμνά[σ]τοις ἀλόντα  
7     νυκτιβάταν σκο[ύ]π[ον] ὦ μοῦς' [ἀ]γανόμματα μᾶτερ συνεπίσπεο σὼν τέκνων  
8     [... ]ωι ἄρτι βρύουσαν ἀοιδὰν πρωτοπαγῆι σοφαί διαποικίλον ἐκφέρομεν  
9     [... ]ι τέγξαν Ἀχελώϊου δρόσ[οις ...] παραπροΐων ὑφίει [π]όδα λδε ἑανοῦ  
10    πτέρυγας τάχος ἴεο λεπτολίθων [... ]:εὐ: καθόρα πέλαγος παρὰ γὰν  
11    ἔκφευγε Νότου χαλεπὰν φοβερὰ[ν διαπο]ντοπλανῆ μανίαν

1 [... ]αι θυγάτηρ ed. pr. : ]αι θυγάτηρ Powell, Page<sup>2</sup>, Ferrari, Pordomingo || 2 [... ]λξ[... ]α cίτα Page<sup>2</sup> : [ ἄ]πλξ[τ]α cίτα Powell, Ferrari, Fabbro, Bravo, Pordomingo || 3 α μοι τεμένη ed. pr., Fabbro : [ ἀτ]άλλοτέ μ' ἐν ἡβῇ Powell : αμοι τεμένη Page<sup>2</sup>, Ferrari, Pordomingo : [ τ]άμοι τεμένη Bravo || 4 [ἐ]νκέρα[σ]ον Χαρίτων κρατή[ρ]α ed. pr., Diehl, Page<sup>1 et 2</sup>, Ferrari, Pordomingo : [ἐ]γκέρα[σ]ον Χαρίτων κρατή[ρ]α Fabbro, Bravo : ἐγκέρα[σ]ον Χαρίτων κρατήρα Powell, Edmonds | ἐπιστ[ε]-φέα ed. pr., Page<sup>1</sup> : ἐπιστεφέα Edmonds, Powell : ἐπιστεφέα Diehl : ἐπιστ[ε]-φέα Page<sup>2</sup>, Fabbro, Pordomingo : ἐπιστε-φέα Ferrari : ἐπιστ[ε]{ }φέα Bravo | κρ[ύφ]ιον τε π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε ed. pr., Page<sup>1</sup> : κρ[ύφ]ιον τε π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε Diehl : κρ[.....]π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε Page<sup>2</sup> : κρ[ύφ]ιον τε πρόπινε Edmonds : κρύφιον τε πρόπινε Powell : κρ[ύφ]ι[όν] τε π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε Ferrari, Pordomingo κρ[ήγ]υον τε π[ρόπ]ι[ν]ε Fabbro : κρ[άγ]υ[όν] τε πρόπινε Bravo || 5 παρθένων ἀπείροσι ed. pr., Page<sup>1</sup> : παρθένων <έν> ἀπε[ί]ροσι Bravo : παρθένων ἀπε[ί]ροσι Page<sup>2</sup>, Ferrari, Fabbro, Pordomingo : παρθενικῶν Powell, Edmonds || 6 δορὶ cώματι ed. pr., Diehl, Page<sup>1</sup> : δοριζώματι Manteuffel : δορὸς ἡματι Powell, Edmonds : δορὸς οἷματι Page<sup>2</sup> conl. : δορὶ cώματα Ferrari, Gianotti, Fabbro, Bravo, Pordomingo || 7 {ὦ} Μοῦς<άν> ἀγανόμματα ed. pr., Page<sup>1</sup> : ὦ Μοῦς<άν> ἀγανόμματα Powell : ὦ Μοῦς<άν> ἀγανόμματα Manteuffel, Diehl, Edmonds, Bravo : ὦ Μοῦς' ἀγανόμματα Page<sup>2</sup> dubitanter, Ferrari, Casagrande, Pordomingo || 8 [ἀγν]ῶι [γόν]ωι ed. pr., Powell, Edmonds, Pordomingo : [ἀγν]ῶι [χορ]ῶι Diehl conl. dubitanter : [ἀγν]ῶι [πόν]ωι Manteuffel : [... ] ωι [... ]ωι Page<sup>1 et 2</sup> : [ἀγ]γῶι [... ]ωι Casagrande : [ἀ]γῶι γ[ό]γωι Bravo : [ῥ]ῶν ωι vel [πόν]ωι [καλ]ῶι Ferrari conl. | αοιδὰν pap. : ἀοιδὰν corr. ed. pr. || 9 νέφη τ[οι] fortasse : νῆα τ[οι] ed. pr., Diehl, Powell, Edmonds, Page<sup>1 et 2</sup>, Pordomingo : εἰμά μοι Ferrari conl., Bravo : ἦμος τ[οι] vel ἐπεί τ[οι] vel εἰ δὴ τ[οι] Casagrande | δρόσ[οι] παῦε edd. pr., Diehl, Powell, Edmonds, Pordomingo : δρόσ[οι] [παῦε] vel [λήγε] vel similia exempli gratia Page<sup>1 et 2</sup> : δρόσ[οι] [παῦε] Ferrari : δρόσ[οι] [νῆα] Casagrande : δρόσ[οι] ἥδη παῦε Bravo | πέρα προΐων ed. pr., Diehl : παραπροΐων Powell, Edmonds, Page<sup>1 et 2</sup>, Ferrari, Casagrande, Bravo, Pordomingo || 10 [ἐπ' ἀγῶ]ν ed. pr., Page<sup>1</sup>, Pordomingo : [ἐπ' ἀγῶ]ν Diehl : [ἐπ' ὄχῳ]ν Powell dubitanter : [ἐπ' ἀγῶ]ν Edmonds : [ψαμαθῶ]ν Page<sup>2</sup> : [λιμένῳ]ν Casagrande, Ferrari : [κροκαλᾶ]ν n Bravo || 11 φοβερὰν [διαπο]ντοπλανῆ ed. pr., Powell, Edmonds, Page<sup>2</sup> : φοβερὰ[ν διαπο]ντοπλανῆ Page<sup>1</sup>, Ferrari, Casagrande, Bravo, Pordomingo.

- 12 χαίρετε συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμ[ήλικες ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ  
 13 ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγ[αθό]ν  
 14 χρῆ δ' ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν φίλοι ἄνδρες  
 15 πρᾶγμα γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ  
 16 ἥδεσθαι τε συνόντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν  
 17 καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦτα οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν  
 18 ἢ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω ἀκούωμεν [δέ λε]γόντων  
 19 ἐμὲ μέρει ἢ δ' ἀρετὴν συμποσίου πέλεται  
 20 τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος [...] πειθόμεθα ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν  
 21 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐλογίαν τε φέρειν

**12** Omnia supplevit Schubart (*ap.* Wilamowitz 1907) : ὁμ[όφρονες possis Iscra-Marinčić || **17** φέρει ed. pr. || **18** [τε λε]γόντων ed. pr. , Condello : δε λεγόντων Ferrar, Iscra-Marinčić, Bravo : τε λεγόντων || **21** φέρειν Π, West, Ferrari : φέρει ed. pr.

### 3. The text

[....]αι θυγάτη[  
[.]λε[.]α cίτα φέρων[  
[.]α μοι τεμένη β[.].....]ων[  
[ἐ]γκέρα[ς]ον Χαρίτων κρατή[ρ]α ἐπιστεφ[.]έα  
5 κ[.]..... π[.]ρόπινε [λό]γον,  
σήμαινε ὅτι παρθέν[ω]ν  
ἄπε[ί]ροσι πλέξομεν ὕμνοισ  
[τ]ὰν δοριώματι κειραμέναν  
Τρ[οί]αν καὶ [τ]ὸν παρὰ ναυσὶν  
10 ἀειμνά[ς]τοισ ἀλόντα  
νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν.  
ᾠ Μοῦς' [ἀ]γανόμματα μάτερ,  
συνεπίσπεο σὼν τέκνων [..]....[.]ωι  
ἄρτι βρύουσιν αἰοιδάν  
πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφαί διαποικίλον ἐκφέρομεν

⊗

[νέφη το]ι τέγξαν Ἀχελώϊου δρόσ[οις  
νῆα], παραπροΐων ὑφίει [π]όδα,  
λῦε ἔανοῦ πτέρυγας, τάχος ἴεο  
λεπτολίθων [....].  
20 :ευ: καθόρα πέλαγος,  
παρὰ γὰν ἔκφευγε Νότου χαλεπὰν  
φοβερά[ν διαπο]ντοπλανῆ μανίαν

Χαίρετε συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμ[ήλικες ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ  
ἄρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγ[αθό]ν  
χρὴ δ' ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν φίλοι ἄνδρες  
πρᾶγμα γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ  
5 ἥδεσθαι τε συνόντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν  
καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦτα οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν  
ἢ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω ἀκούωμεν [τε λε]γόντων  
ἐμ μέρει ἢ δ' ἀρετὴν συμποσίου πέλεται  
τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν  
10 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐλογίαν τε φέρειν



## 4. Metrical scheme

Here I adopt the metrical patterns of the lyrical verses section as reconstructed by the edition published in «QFC» IV (1983), 5-24.

1		
2		
3		
4	- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	hem + pros
5	<u>- -</u> - - - - - - - -	
6	- - - - - - - -	pros
7	- - - - - - - -	enopl
8	- - - - - - - -	alcm ^
9	- - - - - - - -	enopl
10	- - - - - - - -	enopl
11	- - - - - - - -	<i>dodrans A</i>
12	- - - - - - - -	enopl
13		
14	- - - - - - - -	hem fem
15	- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	hem + pros
⊗		
16		
17	[...] - - - - - - - -	alcm
18	- - - - - - - -	alcm
19	- - - - - - - -	hem
20	- - - - - - - -	hem
21	- - - - - - - -	2 anap
22	- - - - - - - -	2 anap

## 5. Translation

...daughter...  
...bringing bread...  
...to me sacred precinct...  
Pour the Graces' bowl up to the brim;  
5 toast a... *logos*,  
give the signals: with endless hymns  
of maiden voices, we are going to weave  
Troy in mourning because  
of a wooden body  
10 and the night-roving spy captured  
at the unforgettable ships.  
O Muse, tender-eyed Mother  
follow the ... of your children;  
we sing a recently bloomed song  
adorned by new-fashioned wisdom.

⊗

Clouds are pouring Acheloos' drops...  
the ship. Reversing the direction,  
loose the ropes, release the sailing linen wings,  
quickly head to the pebbled shore  
20 *eu* observe the sea,  
on the mainland escape the stormy, fearsome  
madness of the sea-roaming southern-wind/Notus.

---

Greetings, fellow drinkers and age mates!  
As I have begun well, thus I will end my speech in a good way.  
When we get together on occasions such as this, dear men,  
we have to laugh and jest properly, to delight us being together,  
5 to talk nonsense to each other, and to joke about what raises a laugh.  
But then let the seriousness follow and let us listen to the speaker  
according to his turn; that's the symposium's virtue  
Then let us obey to the potarch.  
10 Those are acts proper to good men and those procure good reputation.

## Commentary

## 1. Lyric verses

1-3 [...]αι θυγάτη[ / [...]λε[...]α cίτα φέρων[ / [...]α μοι τεμένη β[.....]ων[ :

θυγάτη[; the gap makes it impossible to determine the case of the noun. Moreover, it cannot be defined whether the first lines of the papyrus coincide with the opening lines of the poem: the noun may refer to a word already used or, if not, it could indicate the Muse / the Muses as in Alc. *PMG* 27,1 Μῶς' ἄγε Καλλιόπα θύγατερ Διὸς or even the songs “offspring of the Muses” cf. Pind. *N.* 4, 3 Μοισᾶν θύγατρεις αἰοδαί; (vd. *infra*). But of course, there are many other possibilities.

[...]λε[...]α cίτα: the gap is integrated [ἀπ]λε[τ]α cίτα by all editors, although the *iunctura* is never attested. In lyric poetry, the adjective occurs only once in Pind. *I.* 4, 9-11 ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται / μαρτύρια φθιμένων ζῶων τε φωτῶν / ἀπλέτου δόξας. While the whole phrase would seem to recall *Od.* XX, 342 ποτὶ δ' ἄσπετα δῶρα δίδωμι.

[...]α μοι τεμένη: Powell's proposal (1925, 191) ἀτ]άλλοιτέ μ' ἐν ἡβῃ is particularly striking and would seem to be adapting well to the daughter(s) mentioned in the first line. Unfortunately, is not supported by the palaeographic evidence, unless we suppose an, albeit banal and frequent, copying mistake ΛΛ>Μ. If we assume the mistake, we should also deduct the presence of an *antigraphon*.

4 [ἐ]γκέρα[ς]ον Χαρίτων κρατῆ[ρ]α ἐπιτεφ[έ]α: this verse merges the symposial imagery of wine pouring with poetic inspiration, as in Pind. *I.* 6, 1-3 θάλλοντος ἀνδρῶν ὥς ὅτε συμποσίου / δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων / κίρναμεν Λάμπωνος εὐαέθλου γενεᾶς ὕπερ and in *O.* 6, 91ff. ἐσσι γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός, / ἡὔκόμων σκυτάλα Μοι- / σᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων αἰοιδᾶν; the same imagery, although particularly extensive and elaborate, occurs in *O.* 7, 1-10 Φιάλαν ὥς εἴ τις ἀφ' νειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλών / ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν δρόσῳ / δωρήσεται / νεανία γαμβρῷ προπίνων / οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον, κορυφὰν κτεάνων, / συμποσίου τε χάριν κᾶ- / δός τε

τιμάσαις ἑόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων / παρεόντων θῆκε νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφ' ρονος εὐνᾶς /  
καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτὸν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀθλοφόροις / ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν  
καρπὸν φρενός, ἰλάσκομαι.

[ἐ]γκέρα[ς]ον: 'to stir, to pour, to fill'. This verb is generally used to describe the act of filling the craters (cf. *Il.* VIII 189; *Sapph* 141,2 V.; *Alc.* 367,2-3 V.; *Ar. Ecccl.* 842; *Eubul.* fr. 94,1 K.-A.).

Χαρίτων: for the relationship between the Charites and poetic activity, cf. *Pind. Ol.* 14, 1-10 Καφισίων ὑδάτων / λαχοῖσαι αἶτε ναίετε καλλίπῳλον ἔδραν, / ὦ λιπαρὰς ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι / Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν ἐπίσκοποι, / κλυτ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι· συν γὰρ ὑμῖν τά τε τερπνα καὶ / τὰ γλυκέ' ἀνεται πάντα βροτοῖς, / εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ. / οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων ἄτερ / κοιρανέοντι χοροὺς / οὔτε δαῖτας·  
The association between the Charites and the Muses is traditional. In v. 5 of fr. 103 V. Sappho calls both the Charites and the Muses ἄγναι and a similar invocation is featured in fr. 128V. Δεῦτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι; cf. *Theogn.* I 15f.; *Theocr.* 16, 106f.; cf. *Theogn.* I 15f.; *Theocr.* 16, 106f.; and, moreover, see Plato's passage in *Lg.* III, 682 θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δη καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐνθεαστικὸν ὃν γένος ὑμνοδοῦν, πολλῶν τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν γιγνομένων σὺν τισιν Χάρισιν καὶ Μούσαις ἐφάπτεται ἐκάστοτε. and also *B. Dyt.* 5, 1-7 Πάρεστι μυρία κέλευ- / θος ἀμβροσίων μελέων, / ὃς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων / λάχησι δῶρα Μουσᾶν, / ἰοβλέφαροί τε κόραι / φερεστέφανοι Χάριτες / βάλῳσιν ἀμφὶ τιμὰν / ὕμνοισιν. In Pindar, the Charites constitute a source of poetic inspiration, just like the Muses and Mnemosyne, and all of them are invoked alternatively: in *P.* 6, 2 ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων / ἀναπολίζομεν 'to plow the field of Charites' is a metaphor for poetry; the same metaphor is applied in *N.* 10, 26f. Μοῖσαισί τ' ἔδωκ' ἀρόσαι, where the Muses are featured instead of the Charites. In *P.* 9, 2 Charites are defined as βαθύζωνοι 'narrow-belted' and the same adjective is referred to the daughters of Mnemosyne in *I.* 6, 74 as well as in *B. Ep.* 5, 9 (on the point, cf. Gianotti 1975 68-75). The link between these deities and the μουσική is also evidenced by a passage in Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Musica*, 1136a-b where Sotericus describes Apollo's statue in Delos, holding

the bow in his right hand and the Charites in his left hand, each of them with a musical instrument: the lyre, the *aulós*, and the *syrinx*.

ἐπιστεφέα: it is a metaphorical use of the *iunctura* κρατῆρα ἐπιστεφέα (Cf. *Il.* VIII, 232 πίνοντες κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἴνοιο and *Od.* II, 431 στήσαντο κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἴνοιο).

5 κ[..... π]ρόπι[ν]ε [λό]γον: the fusion of both symposial and poetic imageries goes on.

κ[.....]: Fabbro 1983, 11f., followed by Bravo 1997, 58f., proposes to integrate the gap using the adjective κρήγυον, which she translates as “propitious, delightful, or true” 1983, 12. *Loci similes* quoted supporting this hypothesis are *Il.* I 106 and Theocr. *Id.* 20, 19. In the passage of the Iliad, after Calchas has revealed the cause of the plague, Agamemnon addresses him as μάντι κακῶν, reproaching him for never telling him anything good (κρήγυον); in Theocritus, thus complains a young shepherd about being rejected by a young girl: ποιμένες, εἴπατέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον· οὐ καλὸς ἐμμί. However, these passages do not seem sufficiently adequate to justify such a proposal, since the adjective depends on *verba dicendi* and does not match the construction of our passage. The adjective is also featured in Theocr. *Epigr.* 19, 1 - 4 Ὁ μουσοποιὸς ἐνθάδ’ Ἰππῶναξ κεῖται. / εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχεν τῷ τύμβῳ· / εἰ δ’ ἐσσι κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν, / θαρσέων καθίζεν, κῆν θέλης ἀπόβριζον as a synonym to ἀγαθόν opposed to πονηρός and thus elsewhere: Plat. *Alc.* I 111e; Asclep. *AP* VII 284. In the grammarians’ tradition, it is explained in *schol.* *D Il.* I 106 τὸ κρήγυον· τὸ ἀληθές. νῦν δὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν (*ap. Epimerismi Homericī*, ed. A.R. Dyck, I 1983) from which, for example, Erot. p. 90,16 N. κρήγυον· ἀληθές. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθόν, ὥς καὶ Ὅμηρος (*Il.*) and Hesych. k 4053 L. κρήγυον· ἀγαθόν, ὠφέλιμον, ὑγιές (cf. also *schol.* *Il.* I 106c E. [A]). Therefore, the meaning ‘good’ or ‘true’ might be attributed to the word (cf. *ThGL* IV 1949a «verum, nunc autem bonum, utile»).

π]ρόπινε: also here, we find the metaphorical use of the verb ‘to toast’, probably with the meaning of ‘to offer’.

[λό]γον: in lyric production, the word λόγος is often featured in Pindar's odes with a spectrum of meanings that varies depending on the context: in *e.g.* *O. I*, 28-29 καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν / φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον / δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις / ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι it means *ratio*; in *O. II*, 20-22 ὅταν θεοῦ Μοῖρα πέμπῃ / ἀνεκὰς ὄλβον ὑψηλόν. ἔπεται δὲ λόγος εὐθρόνοις / Κάδμοιο κούραις, ἔπαθον αἱ μεγάλα· the word is used with the meaning of *res de qua sermo est*. Sometimes Pindar uses it to indicate his own songs or their content, just as it happens in our verses, cf. *e.g.* *P. 1*, 35-38 ὁ δὲ λόγος / ταύταις ἐπὶ συντυχίαις δόξαν φέρει / λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι στεφάνοισί ν<ιν> ἵπποις τε κλυτάν / καὶ σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις ὄνυμαστάν; *N. IX*, 52-55 Ζεῦ πάτερ / εὐχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι / σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν / λόγοις νίκαν ἀκοντίζων σκοποῖ ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν; cf. *O. I*, 113. Moreover, in *O. VI*, 97f. lyres are called ἀδύλογοι.

6-7    cήμαινε ὅτι παρθέν[ω]ν / ἀπε[ί]ροσι πλέζομεν ὕμνοις:

παρθένων: both in myth as in ritual, choral performances «seem to be associated more frequently with women, and this tendency is confirmed by the plastic images» (Calame 2001, 25). Despite the scarcity of the material at our disposal, «there is some evidence that the dithyramb in its ritual form could be sung by a women's chorus» (Calame 2001, 79) or by a single woman while the choir takes up the refrain.

πλέζομεν: Bravo 1997, 76f. considers necessary the conjecture <έν> ἀπείροσι as he does not know any other text where «πλέκειν τί τινι equivalent to ἐμπλέκειν τί τινι». This action does not change the meaning of the verse, but, in my view, the normal construction with ἐν and the dative, would influence the poetic effect of the phrase: this way, the function of the dative would be made explicit and this would compromise the effectiveness of the figure of speech. Moreover, I think that a parallel to the phrase πλέκειν τί τινι equivalent to ἐμπλέκειν τί τινι, although in a non-metaphoric context, can be found in Theocr. 1, 52 αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν.

ἀπε[ί]ροσι ὕμνοις: in the light of his own subdivision of the text into three *skolia*, Wilamowitz 1907, 59 n. 1 notes that the adjective ἄπειρον 'endless,

unlimited, impenetrable, unfathomable' is not suitable for short essays and, then, assumes that the guests «die Göttin ins Grenzenlose rühmen wollen» or «vielleicht haben die γῆφοι kein πέρας» (Wilamowitz 1907, *ibid.*) On the other hand, Page 1950, 389 translates «we are going to weave in boundless chants» and in a footnote he indicates «songs that shall have no limit or end». Ferrari 1989, 194f. suggests a different interpretation of the passage, which seems to render the poetic use of the word. Like Page, he translates the phrase «with boundless chants» although he does not consider “boundless” the song itself, but rather the poet’s inspiration, that is symbolized by κρατῆρα ἐπιτεφέα in v. 4.

**8-9** [τ]ὰν δορικώματι κειραμέναν / Τρ[οί]αν: the verse has been variously interpreted and emended. Crucial are both the reading of the sequence δορικώματι and the interpretation of the verb κειραμέναν and its diathesis. I preferred to maintain the first term as recorded on the papyrus and to read it as a riddling compound “the wooden body”. This form of the verb κείρω seems to recall the practice of cutting the hair in mourning and it is used to describe the sorrowful situation of Troy after its fall, which was caused by the “wooden body”.

**9-11** καὶ [τ]ὸν παρὰ ναυκὶν / ἀειμνά[ς]τοις ἀλόντα / νυκτιβάταν σκοπόν:

ναυκὶν ἀειμνάτοις: the adjective ἀείμνηστος, here in a Doric aspect, is not attested in Homer. It is often related to words such as ‘fame, reputation’ but also ‘tomb, grave’, cf. Isocr. *Hel.* 17, 3-5 ἅλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων γιγνομένας, βουλόμενος αὐτῶν μὴ μόνον τὰ σώματ’ εἰς θεοὺς ἀναγαγεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς δόξας ἀειμνήστους καταλιπεῖν; Eur. *Iph. Au.* 1531; Soph. *Aj.* 1164-7 Ἄλλ’ ὥς δύνασαι, Τεῦκρε, ταχύνας / σπεῦσον κοίλῃν κάπετόν τιν’ ἰδεῖν / τῷδ’, ἔνθα βροτοῖς τὸν ἀείμνηστον / τάφον εὐρώεντα καθέξει. In this case, it could refer to the undying memory of the epic events but also – with an eerie *allure* – to the fact that the spy was captured (and if it is Dolon, then killed) at the Greek ships.

νυκτιβάταν: *hapax*, cf. Timoth. *PMG* 791, 133 νυκτιπαθεῖ βορέα<ι>.



12-13 ᾠ Μοῦς' [ἀ]γανόμματα μᾶτερ, / συνεπίσπεο σὼν τέκνων [...]...[]ωι: the interpretation of the sequence is determined by the identification of τέκνα: Wilamowitz 1907, 60 thinks that these children have to be the Muses. On the other hand, he thinks that addressing the Muse calling her “mother” «ist mehr, als man vertragen kann»: thus, he corrects the text in the papyrus, precisely with a genitive plural Μουσᾶν ἀγανόμματα μᾶτερ. Such speculation was accepted by later editors. Instead, Ferrari 1989, 204, preserves the papyrus text, considering appropriate that the poet calls “mother” the Muse, and that she should not be identified with Mnemosyne. In this case, the children of the Muse would be the lyric “us”, with the guests themselves and quotes Pind. *N.* 3,1-5 ᾠ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρᾳ, λίσσομαι, / τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι ἔκειο Δωρίδα νῆσον Αἴγιναν. Casagrande 1983, 15 thinks that τέκνα are the Muses, but she does not deem it necessary to correct the papyrus, which would feature «an invocation to Mnemosyne, who is refinedly called *Musa Mater*, and is invited to inspire the song that the guests are going to sing», thus also Manteuffel 1930, 175 n. 3. reads τέκνα as Muses, as they are Mnemosyne’s daughters, cf. Sol. fr. 13, 1-5 W.<sup>2</sup> end *h. Merc.* 429f. Without necessarily correcting the text with a genitive plural Μουσᾶν ἀγανόμματα μᾶτερ, the identification of the “mother” in our text with Mnemosyne is surely possible – just like the Muses, the goddess presides over poetic creation: «Wenn man die Mnemosyne statt zu einer Muse zur Mutter der Musen machte, wollte man damit gerade ihre fundamentale Bedeutung für alles zurückschauende Dichten hervorheben» (S. Eitrem, *Mnemosyne*, in *RE* XV/2, 1932, 2265). Yet, I believe that the Muse can be called “mother” and that her offspring can be identified with the poetic activity, whether embodied by the choir, by the poet himself, or by the songs, as in Pind. *N.* 4, 2f. (...) αἱ δὲ σοφαί / Μοισᾶν θύγατρῃς ἀοιδὰι θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι. An additional suggestion in this regard could be the use of the verb συνεφέπομαι.

ἀγανόμματα: *hapax*, cf. Ibyc. *PMG* 288, 3 ἀγανοβλέφαρος; Hesych. a 319 L. ἀγανώπιδος: [παρειᾶς] εὐοφθάλμου **vg** πραείας. καλῶς βλεπούσης **vgA(n)**; Bacch. *Dith.* 5, 5 ἰοβλέφαροί τε κόραι referred to the Charites.

συνεπίπεο: Ferrari 1989, 205f. reports in this regard the passage Eur. *Hipp.* 1307f. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, οὐκ ἐφέσπετο λόγοισιν. The verb of Euripides' passage, however, is ἐφέπω that, indeed, is not odd in tragedy, nor in comedy, nor in lyric poetry, cf. e.g. Pind. *P.* 1, 29f. εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὴν εἴη ἀνδάνειν, / ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος and Aristoph. *Ve.* 1277f. πρῶτα μὲν ἅπασι φίλον ἄνδρα τε σοφώτατον, / τὸν κιθαραιδότατον, ᾧ χάρις ἐφέσπετο (and also Theogn. I 217 and 1073; Pind. *P.* 4,133 and 294, *P.* 6, 33), while our text is the only testimony of the aorist imperative of the verb συνεφέπομαι 'to follow together'. In the classical period, the verb συνεφέπομαι is featured in prose only, e.g. Hdt. IX, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Among all the passages quoted *ad loc.* by Diehl 1942, 190 (Plat. *Soph.* 254c; Xen. *An.* VIII 4,6), I think that Plato is especially helpful in understanding the verb in its metaphorical meaning: the Stranger, having lead Theaetetus to recognize the differences between "the sophist" and "the philosopher", invites him also to follow the line of reasoning τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο συνεπισπόμεθα τῷ λόγῳ τῇδε σκοποῦντες. In our context, we can find a similar use, although metaphorical, of συνεφέπομαι to underline how the Muse is invoked to follow her children along the path of singing, just like a mother.

[...][...]ωι: Wilamowitz 1907, 60 supplements [ἀγν]ῶι [γόν]ωι based on the ink traces and believes that the expression «bezeichnet das Lied als Musenkind, rückt aber diese Bezeichnung durch ἀγνός sofort in das Metaphorische». This interpretation is correct by Casagrande 1983, 14f., who, even avoiding printing the supplement, identifies a possible parallel in Eur. *Med.* 1136f. ἐπεὶ τέκνων σῶν ἦλθε δίπτυχος γονή/σὺν πατρὶ καὶ παρῆλθε νυμφικοὺς δόμους. The integration of the first word ἀγνῶι as proposed by Wilamowitz has, in fact, been accepted by the majority of editors. However, the word would refer to the sacred sphere characterizing the poetic activity as invested "by a sacral dignity" (Gentili 2006, 317–326); as far as the second word is concerned, Manteuffel 1930, 175 proposes πόνωι thinking back to Eur. *Bacc.* 64-67 Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίας / ἱερὸν Τμῶλον ἀμείψασα θαάζω / Βρομίωι πόνον ἡδὺν / κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον. On the other hand, Diehl suggests χορῶι without quoting any *locus*

*similis* at all. In the light of Anacr. 33, 7-11 G. ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω / πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳι / μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς / ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις Ferrari 1989, 205 suggests ὕμνῳι καλῶι but he does not exclude πόνῳι for the first noun. His last hypothesis seems to be particularly interesting, if we consider 1) Pind. *N.* 3, 10–13 ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ, / δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὁάροις / λύρα τε κοινάσομαι. χαρίεντα δ' ἔξει πόνον / χάρας ἄγαλμα where the poet, after addressing the Muse, uses the word χαρίεντα πόνον in order to indicate not the song itself, but rather the activity of instructing the chorus (the passage was already reported by Ferrari *ibid.*) and 2) the theme of the hymn that the choir is going to perform. I do not think it is possible to rule out the fact that πόνος may indicate the suffering, the pain that would be stirred evoking a mourning theme. For an empathic perspective of the public to a performance which involves the episode of the fall of Troy (at least an Athenian public), see Anderson 1997, 192–245 and G. Ferrari 2000.

14-15 ἄρτι βρύουσαν αἰοιδάν / πρωτοπαγεῖ σοφαίαι διαποικίλον ἐκφέρομεν: as LeVen 2014, 87ff. correctly said, «the new Muse is as old as Homer» and, even if the theme or the language of the song is traditional, the poet will claim its novelty. But in what terms? As far as a terminology of the concept of novelty is concerned, D'Angour 2011, 184–206 highlighted that, in the literary tradition, there are two keywords: νέος and καινός, where the first implies that «a song is “young” – that is, when its narratives, themes, and characters have not circulated long enough to be familiar to its audience» (D'Angoure 2011, 188) or that the narrated events are not to be placed in a relatively distant past regarding neither the occasion of singing nor the narrative context of the song itself. On the other hand, the second word καινός must be read under a different shade of novelty, meaning ‘innovation’, ‘originality’. Given the epic theme of our verses, this claim of novelty should be led back to the idea of καινότης.

ἄρτι βρύουσαν: the verb βρύω means ‘to blossom, to sprout, to flourish’ and is generally used in relation to vegetation (cf. Hesych. b 1249 L. βρύον: θάλλον). Followed by a dative, it means ‘to be full, lush’, as in *Il.* XVII 55f. τὸ

δέ τε πνοιαί δονέουσι / παντοίων ανέμων, καί τε βρύει ἄνθει λευκῷ· and in Aesch. *Suppl.* 966f. ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις, / διε Πελασγῶν. However, Ferrari 1989, 206 thinks that «l'unico vero parallelo per il nesso col canto sembra essere offerto da Aesch. fr. 350, 6 R.» It is an *incertae fabulae* fragment, recorded on Plat. *Rep.* 383a-b, in which Thetis complains about a prophecy by Apollo that did not come true (Il. 5-9) καὶ γὰρ τὸ Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα / ἥλπιζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνη. / ὁ δ', αὐτὸς ὑμῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών, / αὐτὸς τάδ' εἰπών, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κτανὼν / τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν. However, in Aeschylus' passage, the verb βρύω refers neither to the song nor to the expressions the prediction is made of. Rather, it refers to the oracle's main feature, that is, to be fully gifted with mantic art and therefore to be always foreseeing the truth. On the other hand, I believe that, in our verses, we should give the verb a metaphorical value: 'blossoming', alluding, maybe, to the young age of the *parthenoi*, who sing the songs. The time adverb ἄρτι mainly refers to the present, but also to the near past and, more rarely, to the future (cf. *GE s.v.*). Perhaps, Ferrari 1989, 207 is right in assuming that the adverb puts the "blossoming" of the song in a near past in this case.

ᾠοιδάν: in the papyrus, we clearly read αωιδαν. The correction by Wilamowitz 1907, 58 was then accepted by all editors.

πρωτοπαγεῖ: this rare Homeric adjective also occurs in Heracl. *All. Hom.* 23, 14 τὰ πρωτοπαγῇ στοιχεῖα τῆς φύσεως indicating the first, primordial elements on which nature is based. The same word is used also in Nonn. *D.* VI 150f. καὶ ποσὶ φοιταλέοισι παλίνδρομος ἄκρον ἀπ' ἄκρου / πρωτοπαγῇ ποίησε διάσματα, φάρεος ἀρχήν, where it indicates the first weaving of canvas and in *D.* XL 450f. καὶ ἀγκύλον ἄκρον ἀπ' ἄκρου / πρωτοπαγὲς δόρυ μακρὸν ὅλον στήριγμα δεχέσθω, where πρωτοπαγὲς δόρυ is the central beam, around which the boards forming the hull of the ship will be nailed, significantly called δίφρον ἁλός. Here the phrase refers to σοφία in a *iunctura* never attested before.

σοφαίαι: the word originally indicates some manual skills in the arts or in a trade (cf. *GE s.v.*, Leisegang, *Sophia*, in *RE* III A/1, 1927, 1019-1039) and also Hesych. s 1367 H. σοφία· πᾶσα τέχνη, καὶ ἐπιστήμη. It is first found in *Il.* XV 410-412 ἀλλ' ὥς τε στάθμη δόρυ νήϊον ἐξιθύνει / τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι

δαήμονος, ὅς ῥά τε πάσης / εὖ εἰδῆ σοφίης ὑποθημοσύνησιν Ἀθήνης. Then, the word indicates a more generic skill, until it enters the sphere of “poetry making” (cf. Snell 1924, 5-20, Gentili 2006<sup>4</sup>, 18-31). In this regard, see *h. Merc.* 482-485 ὅς τις ἂν αὐτὴν / τέχνη καὶ σοφίη δεδαημένος ἐξερεεῖνη / φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόῳ χαρίεντα διδάσκει / ῥεῖα συνηθείησιν ἄθυρομένη μαλακῇσιν. In Sol. fr. 13,51s. W.<sup>2</sup> ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων πάρα δῶρα διδαχθεῖς, / ἱμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος the knowledge of the Muses’ gifts brings a ‘wisdom’, which is evidently related to the poetic art (see also Pind. *O.* 1,115-117, Aristoph. *Ra.* 875-882 and also Hesych. s 1371 H. σοφιστήν· πᾶσαν τέχνην σοφίαν ἔλεγον, καὶ σοφιστὰς τοὺς περὶ μουσικὴν διατρίβοντας καὶ τοὺς μετὰ κιθάρας ᾄδοντας)

διαποικίλον: the adjective features many meanings: ‘spotted, variegated, striped with different colors’ (cf. *Il.* X 30, Hdt. VII 61), but also ‘intricate, complicated’ (cf. Hdt. II 148, Eur. *Hel.* 711). When referring to poetry, this word describes it as adorned with figures of speech, as, for example, the verbal form in Isocr. *Evag.* 9, 7 ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἴδεσιν διαποικίλαι τὴν ποίησιν. On the association of this adjective with songs, cf. Pind. *O.* VI 84–87 ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμ- / φαλῖς, εὐανθῆς Μετώπα, / πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτι- / κτεν, τὰς ἐρατεινὸν ὕδωρ / πίομαι, ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων / ποικίλον ὕμνον. For a comprehensive study of the term see Destrée-P. Murray 2015, 406–421.

16-17 [νέφη το]ι τέγξαν Ἀχελώιου δρόκοις / νῆα], παραπροϊὼν ὑφίει [π]όδα: these lines open what I think is a new section of the text recorded on the papyrus, featuring a different metaphorical language.

[νέφη το]ι τέγξαν: the editors made many attempts to fill the gaps of these lines. The hypothesis νῆά τ]οι τέγξαν Ἀχελώιου δρόκοις proposed by Wilamowitz 1907, 58 is accepted by the majority of editors. This conjecture would immediately project the audience in a marine environment and would make immediately apparent the related issue: a ship sprinkled by “drops of Achelous”. On the other hand, Ferrari 1989, 208, followed by Bravo 1997, 73, proposes εἰμά μο]ι, interpreting the phrase Ἀχελώιου δρόκοι as sea drops. However, having a garment sprinkled by sea drops does not seem to be a clear

sign of danger, nor an obstacle to navigation, as we should expect from what is said in the following lines. Pellizer (*ap.* Casagrande 1983, 14) proposes adverbs such as ἐπεὶ τ]οι or ἤμος τ]οι, or even the interrogative preposition εἰ δὴ τ]οι, which are all plausible hypotheses: the sentence could indeed be rendered as “when / as soon as / if Achelous’ drops have sprinkled you ...”.

Ἀχελώϊου: Ἀχελῶος, son of Oceanus and Tethys, is the god of the river Achelous. As Wilamowitz 1907, 60 correctly affirms, « Ἀχελῷος ἐπὶ παντός ὕδατος ist sehr bekannt» the name can be referred to any kind of water (cf. for example Hesych. a 8841 L. Ἀχελῶος· ποταμὸς Ἀκαρνανίας **vgS** καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ οὕτως λέγεται **Sn**). The only occurrence of the phrase Ἀχελῷου δρόσοι is in Eur. *Andr.* 166f. ἐκ χρυσηλάτων / τευχέων χερὶ σπείρουσαν Ἀχελῷου δρόσον where it simply indicates ‘water’.

δρόσ[οις: All editors integrate a nominative δρόσοι as a subject of the sentence and their majority thinks it is ‘raindrops’, except Ferrari 1989, 207f., who considers that nothing in the text suggests that it is rain and that a storm signal should be characterised by far stronger and more threatening traits than raindrops. This is why he thinks the “drops of Achelous” are «spruzzi di acqua marina prodotti dal sollevarsi delle onde» (*ibid.*).

However, I think it is possible to propose a different reconstruction and interpretation of the lines, based on the following considerations:

a) The verb τέγγω means ‘to sprinkle, to wet’ and it is usually often followed by the dative of the liquid element and the accusative of the wetted item, cf. Eur. *Med.* 922 αὕτη, τί χλωροῖς δακρύοις τέγγεις κόρας, Eur. *Hipp.* 853f. δάκρυσί μου βλέφαρα καταχυθέντα τέγ- / γεται σᾶι τύχαι. (cf. also Aesch. *Pers.* 539f.; Soph. *Tr.* 848; Eur. *Hipp.* 1189 and *Hel.* 456 and 1189; Alc. fr. 377a,1 V. τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνω and Soph. *Ai.* 1207f., Pind. *O.* 4,17f., Eur. *Suppl.* 21, 978f., Ar. *Ra.* 1311, Ap. Rh. I 555, IV 707). Therefore, I would integrate the *lacuna* after the verb with the dative plural δρόσοις, the length of which suits well the size of the gap. They are more likely raindrops rather than sea drops, as suggested by the fact that the Southern Wind, Notos, mentioned later on at l. 21, traditionally accompanies rain or squalls, as in Hes. *Op.* 663ff. σπεύδειν δ’ ὅτι τάχιστα πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι / μηδὲ μένειν οἶνόν τε νέον καὶ

ὄπωρινὸν ὄμβρον /καὶ χειμῶν' ἐπιόντα Νότοιό τε δεινὰς αἴητας, / ὅς τ' ὥρινε  
θάλασσαν ὁμαρτήσας Διὸς ὄμβρῳ / πολλῷ ὄπωρινῷ, χαλεπὸν δέ τε πόντον  
ἔθηκεν and as in the Orphic hymn to Notos it is associated with rain and stormy  
clouds *Orph. H.* 82ff. Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα δι' ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον, / ὠκείαις  
πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, / ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις νοτίαις, ὄμβροιο  
γενάρχα· / τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι σέθεν γέρας ἡερόφοιτον, / ὄμβροτόκους  
νεφέλας ἐξ ἡέρος εἰς χθόνα πέμπειν.

b) Clouds are traditionally used to symbolize an incoming storm: Archil.  
fr. 105 W.<sup>2</sup> Γλαῦχ', ὄρα· βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταρασσεται / πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ'  
ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος, / σῆμα χειμῶνος, κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπίτης  
φόβος. Furthermore, they are often described as rain-bringers, cf. the Orphic  
hymn quoted above ὄμβροτόκους νεφέλας; Anacr. fr. 7 G. (= *PMG* 17) μεις μὲν  
δὴ Ποσιδηίων / ἔστηκεν νεφέλη δ' ὕδωρ / βαρὺ δ' ἄγριοι / χειμῶνες κατάγουσι  
(cf. also Pind. *O.* 11, 3; Eur. *El.* 726-736; Ar. *Nub.* 288; Arat. *Phaen.* 854ff.).

c) Given the sailing instructions recorded in the following lines, the  
object wetted by the rain has to be a ship. Therefore, the mention of the ship at  
the beginning of 1.9 seems particularly appropriate, as proposed by Casagrande  
1983, 14. The conjectured νῆα in *enjambement* would stress the nautical context  
and, if any, the sailing metaphor. Therefore, I suggest the following  
reconstruction: νέφη τοὶ τέξαν Ἀχελώϊου δρόκοις / νῆα. Παραπροϊών *etc.* In this  
way, both the traditional situation and the usual syntax of the verb would be  
reconstructed. For τοι used as interjection see Denniston, *Gr. Part* 542.

παραπροϊών: is the only occurrence of the verb παραπρόειμι that  
Wilamowitz 1907, 60 interprets as «παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον προϊών» or, more likely,  
as a writing error for πέρα προϊών meaning 'going beyond, continuing'. Almost  
all other editors preserve the papyrus' *hapax*, attributing the latter meaning to it.  
This interpretation leads necessarily to filling the gap with παῦε or similar  
words, as the context does not seem to support the hypothesis of a verb meaning  
'continuing'. The only alternative is proposed by Casagrande 1983, 15, who  
translates the participle with "heading to shore", though without giving any  
explanation. As a prefix, para- may also indicate the idea of exchange or change

(cf. Schwyzer-Debrunner, *GG* II 492); in this case, therefore, it could be read as ‘go on changing your direction’, thus ‘reverse your course’.

ὕφει [π]όδα: this is the first of the five imperatives featured in the following lines, and, therefore, the first indication of the attitude prescribed in case of a threat in open sea. The verb ὕφειμι not only means ‘to lower, to let down’, but also ‘to loosen’. In this second meaning, it is a synonym to παρήμι that recurs together with πόδα in the same context in Ar. *Eq.* 436. Gentili 2006, 296 reports that the word πόδα may designate the lower corners, the ‘feet’ of a sail, but, as here sails are named in the following line, I think the noun πόδα in our context indicates ‘hawsers’, ‘cables’, as in Euripides’ *Or.* 706f., καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθεῖσα πρὸς βίαν ποδὶ / ἔβαψεν, ἔστη δ’ αὖθις ἦν χαλαῖ πόδα, where the act of ‘loosening the ropes’ is one of the measures to be taken in case of a storm.

18-19 λῦε ἔανοῦ πτέρυγας, τάχος ἔεο / λεπτολίθων [.....].

λῦε ἔανοῦ πτέρυγας: the verb λύω has been interpreted in many ways. Ferrari 1989, 214 thinks this phrase is contrapositive to the previous one, so the pilot should first «serrare le vele, poi virare, infine riprendere la navigazione». As a consequence, he translates “molla la scotta, sciogli le ali di lino”, words that, however, do not highlight the contraposition he noticed. Together with Wilamowitz 1907, 60, in whose opinion «da soll der Kapitän auf die Fahrt durch das offene Meer verzichten, das Tau, von dem das Segel straff gehalten wird, nachlassen», I think the verb λύω indicates the act of loosening the sails from what keeps them well taut, that is the ropes, cf. *e.g. h. Hom. in Ap.*, 404/409. οἱ δ’ ἀκέων ἐνὶ νηὶ καθήατο δειμαίνοντες, / οὐδ’ οἳ γ’ ὄπλ’ ἔλυνον κοίλην ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν, / οὐδ’ ἔλυνον λαῖφος νηὸς κυανοπρώροιο· ἄλλ’ ὥς τὰ πρότιστα κατεστήσαντο βοεῦσιν / ὧς ἔπλεον· κραιπνὸς δὲ Νότος κατόπισθεν ἔγειρε / νῆα θοήν. Therefore, the whole line is to be read as an immediate consequence of what was said before, if we admit the mentioning of rain in l. 16, because it would soak the sails, making them heavy and not really controllable. Another possible explanation for the interpretation of the phrase ‘to loosen the sails’ is suggested by Casson 1972, 275: «when the wind was somewhat too strong for normal sailing, the yard was carried lower on the mast to bring down the centre



of pressure; this maneuver, by keeping the bow from digging in, enabled the vessel to plane better. When that did not suffice, the sail was shortened by taking up on the brails». In our lines, we have both the rain and the wind, portrayed as σῆμα χειμῶνος. The phrase ἔανοῦ πτέρυγας is translated by most of the editors as ‘linen wings’, whereas Casagrande 1983, 15 proposes “of the sail the wings”, as the phrase seems to be purposely highlighting the frailty of the sails.

τάχος ἴεο: (for τάχος as adverbial accusative cf. *GE* s.v.). The adverb echoes the incoming danger. At the first storm signals, it is better not to linger. This sense of hurry is underlined by the middle imperative of the verb ἵημι ‘to jet, to hurry up’.

If the sails are considered fully furled, the ship should evidently be moved by the oars, but they are not mentioned; Casson 1972, 275 suggests that navigation goes on thanks to a minor set of sails.

λεπτολίθων [...]: the adjective λεπτός features a wide range of meanings. When referred to stones or pebbles, it can be interpreted in different ways: they can actually be ‘small’, ‘smooth’, but also ‘chopped’, or ‘powdered’. The interpretation of this compound adjective partially depends on what has fallen into the gap. Wilamowitz 1907, 61 considers the integration [ἐπ’ ἀγῶ]ν «wohl sicher» because «nur ἐπί mit Genitiv die Richtung bezeichnen kann». Powell 1925, 192 does not agree with such integration and proposes, though with doubts, a similar [ἐπ’ ὄχῳ]ν. Page 1962, 482, on the base of Aesch. *Suppl.* 2f. ἀπὸ προστομίῳν λεπτοψαμάθων / Νείλου, conjectures [ψαμαθῶ]ν, probably thinking that the preposition ἐπί is not necessary with the verb ἵημι. Ferrari 1989, 215 agrees with this integration and finds in *Il.* XI 166ff. οἱ δὲ παρ’ Ἰλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο / μέσσον κὰπ πεδίον παρ’ ἔρινεδὸν ἐσσεύοντο / ἰέμενοι πόλιος and *Od.* X 529 αὐτὸς δ’ ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι / ἰέμενος ποταμοῖο ῥοάων, both examples of this verb followed by a simple genitive. However, he considers [λιμένῳ]ν proposed by Casagrande 1983, 14 interesting as well. Although all these hypotheses are possible, the latter is the only one having a parallel in the extant *Schiffsgedichte*, cf. Alcae. fr. 6,8 V. ἐς δ’ ἔχυρον λίμενα δρόμωμεν.

20 :εὔ: καθόρα πέλαγος

:εὔ: : the papyrus clearly features *epsilon* and *ypsilon* between *dicola*. Such a sequence poses many problems from a palaeographic and interpretative point of view. Wilamowitz 1907, 61 thinks that the colons are two *dicola* for sure and that they cannot indicate an expunction nor the free choice to pronounce εὔ, or not. He thinks that an exclamation by the guests would be appropriate, «ein “Bravo”, so dass der Doppelpunkt das älteste Beispiel der Bezeichnung für Personenwechsel ist». Then, he adds that «indessen εὔ καθόρα ist dem Sinne so angemessen, dem Versmaße auch, dass man eher annimmt, es wären die Doppelpunkte in der Vorlage Zeichen gewesen, die einem ausgelassenen und am Rande nachgetragenen Worte seine Stelle anwiesen, und der Schreiber hätte sie mit kopiert». Therefore, the situation should have been as follows: the two *dicola* in the antigraph text would have been used to mark the forgotten word, reported on the margin, that is εὔ. *P. Berol.* 13270's copyist would have first understood the colons' function in the antigraph and then he would have integrated εὔ in the copied text, taking care of copying the *dicola* as well, even though they did not have any function anymore. However, it seems to me that assuming this process involves a contradiction: if the writer, or the copyist, had understood that the *dicola* were meant to indicate how to retrieve a forgotten word, and thus they highlighted a “mistake”, it is not clear why, once he corrected such “mistake”, he would copy the signs that marked it as well. Edmonds 1940, 581 prefers the exclamation hypothesis. So does Page 1950, 391 as well, translating «Hurrah!». Ferrari 1989, 215f. thinks the *dicola* signal a change of speaker: thus, the phrase would be an interjection pronounced by the «compagni di bevuta»; just remember the customary use of this sign with the same function in dialogic texts (cf. Turner 1987, 10f.). The interpretation of this notation is, in my opinion, still problematic.

καθόρα πέλαγος: the verb καθοράω means ‘to look from above’ (cf. *Il.* XI 337), but also ‘to observe, to examine’ (cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 1058). The invitation to ‘observe the sea’ is one of the measures to be taken in case of a storm and can be interpreted as a warning to be careful of possible contingencies.

21-22 παρὰ γὰν ἔκφευγε Νότου χαλεπὰν / φοβερὰ[ν διαπο]ντοπλανῇ μανίαν.

ἔκφευγε: ἐκφεύγω followed by an accusative means ‘to avoid, to flee’. The phrase παρὰ γὰν implies an idea of movement and may mean ‘close to the land, close to the coast’ or ‘on the ground, towards the mainland’ (cf. Schwyzler-Debrunner, *GG* II 494).

Νότου: this is the god of the southern wind, which blows during fall and early winter. Traditionally, it indicates a clear danger to navigation, as in the aforementioned Homeric hymn to Apollo ll. 408f. (*vd. supra s.v. λθε...*) and in Bacch. *Ep.* 13, 93ff. where the poet invites to take to the sea before Notos arrives νυκτὸς ἀντάσας ἀνατε [~~] λῆ- / ξεν δὲ σὺν φαεσιμ[βρότῳ] / Ἀοῖ, στόρεσεν δέ τε πό[ντον] / οὐρία· Νότου δὲ κόλπ[ωσαν πνοᾶ] / ἰστίον ἀρπαλέως <τ> ἄ- / ελπτον ἐξί[κ]οντο χέ[ρσον.] (cf. *Il.* II 144 and 394, Soph. *Ant.* 335-337, *Tr.* 113f. and also Roscher, *ALGRM* III, 1 *s.v.*). Regarding the association between Notos and the clouds that bring rain see the already mentioned Orphic hymn (*vd. supra*), Verg. *Georg.* I 441ff. and Ov. *Fast.* V 322ff.

χαλεπὰν: this adjective features several meanings, ‘difficult’, ‘hard to deal with’, ‘dangerous’, ‘harsh’ (cf. *e.g.* Hesych. σ 1296 H. σμοιός· χαλεπός, φοβερός, στυγνός; *Schol. D* Hom. *Il.* V 384 Ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλήλους κακῶς πράσσοντες; Bacch. *Ep.* V, 94f. Χαλεπὸν / θεῶν παρατρέψαι νόον / ἄνδρεςσιν ἐπιχθονίοις.) When put together with weather conditions, it means ‘menacing’, ‘stormy’, as in *e.g.* Xen. *An.* IV 5, 4 καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξεν λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος; Arat. *Phaen.* 110 χαλεπὴ δ’ ἀπέκειτο θάλασσα; 878–879 Οὐδὲ μὲν ἡελίου σχεδόθεν μελανεῦσαι ἄλωαί / εὐδίοι· ἀσσότεραι δὲ καὶ ἀστεμφές μελανεῦσαι / μᾶλλον χειμέρια· δύο δ’ ἂν χαλεπώτεραι εἶεν; in *ibid.* 312–15 the adjective is significantly related to the Eagle constellation, in order to stress how the rise of this constellation is accompanied by storms or bad weather δέ οἱ παραπέπταται Ὅρνις / ἀσσότερος βορέω. Σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἄλλος ἄηται / οὐ τόσσος μεγέθει, χαλεπός γε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ἐλθὼν / νυκτὸς ἀπερχομένης· καὶ μιν καλέουσιν Ἀητόν (Cf. Kidd 1997, 300f.; 476).

διαπο]ντοπλανῇ: the integration is an *hapax* and was accepted by all editors. Ferrari 1989, 206 accepts the division of the text proposed by the *editor princeps* and relates this adjective to the preceding διαποικίλον in l. 15. He

recognizes «una certa predilezione di questo poeta per i composti in δια-». Besides the preposition δια-, it could be possible to presume the preposition περί- as well, and thus a rather redundant compound περιποντοπλανής; in fact, the verb περιπλανάομαι meaning ‘wandering’ and the adjectives deriving from it are attested at least from Herod. IV 151 Περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἰτανὸν πόλιν and, with a metaphorical meaning, also in Pind. *Isth.* VI 47ff. ὥσ- / περ τόδε δέρμα με νῦν περιπλανᾶται / θηρός. However, the preposition δια- seems to better fit the space in the *lacuna*. Also, «durch eine Bedeutungsverschiebung etwa von ‘entzweischneiden’ zu ‘durchschneiden’ erhielt das idg. \*dis- im Griechischen die Bedeutung ‘durch-’; es konnte dann das idg. \*pér(i) in dieser Bedeutung (vgl. besonders lat. *per-*) ersetzen und auch dessen präpositionale Verwendung übernehmen» (Schwyzer-Debrunner *GG* II, 449.)

μανίαν: The southern wind is often connoted as a threatening, violent wind, preluding to or accompanied by rains or thunderstorms. We also have seen how similar images of the ship threatened by storm might traditionally be used to metaphorically indicate the simile of the *ship of state*. However, a political or social metaphor is not the only option and the occurrence of the word μανία might be really meaningful and hint to a different possible metaphorical setting of the image featured in the preceding verses. The word is traditionally associated with Eros’ violent action and, therefore, with erotic passion, cf., *e.g.*, Theogn II 1 Σχέτλι’ Ἔρωος, μανίαι σε τιθηνήσαντο λαβοῦσαι; Ancacr. Fr. 53 P. ἀστραγάλοι δ’ Ἔρωτός εἰσιν / μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί. It also occurs associated to the Bacchic euphoria and the emotional upheaval featuring particularly tragic tones, as evidenced by its frequent use in tragedy, especially in Euripides, who was so careful in portraying his characters’ psyche and passions (cf. *e.g.* Knox 1985, 317f., 327; Galavotti 2014<sup>2</sup> 256–258). Finally, the word is used to indicate the proper pathological aspect of the excess of madness (cf. Thiher 1999, 1–43). In the famous Sapphic fragment 47 V. Ἔρος δ’ ἐτίναξέ μοι / φρένας, ὥς ἄνεμος κατ’ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων Eros’ action is compared to the force of the wind “jolting” trees. The same simile is also found in Ibyc. 5 P. where the quiet image of spring blooming is opposed to Eros’ force, that pounces on the human soul

like the winter wind 6–10 ἔμοι δ' ἔρος / οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν. / †τε† ὑπὸ  
στεροπᾶς φλέγων / Θρηϊκίος Βορέας / αἴσσων παρὰ Κύπριδος ἄζαλέ- / αἰς  
μανίαισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβῆς / ἐγκρατέως πεδόθεν †φυλάσσει† (cf. Degani-  
Burzacchini 2005, 303ff.; Gerber 1997, 194–197.) I find really interesting a  
proposal by West 1966, 152f. – then repeated in West 1975, 307 – to amend  
φυλάσσει in λαφύσσει. The forces of nature, be it wind, storm or a stormy sea,  
are frequently assimilated to the force of erotic passion (cf. Thornton 1997,  
especially 35–37, with the mentioned passages). Among those forces, the sea,  
due to its being particularly fickle, unpredictable and changeable, is often  
compared to women, as in the vivid description of the woman - sea in the catalog  
of women by Semonides of Amorgos fr. 7 W., 27–43 (...) ἀλλὰ μαίνεται τότε /  
ἄπλητον ὥσπερ ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν κύων, / ἀμείλιχος δὲ πᾶσι κάποθυμῖη / ἐχθροῖσιν  
ἴσα καὶ φίλοισι γίνεται· / ὥσπερ θάλασσα πολλάκις μὲν ἀτρεμῆς / ἔστηκ',  
ἀπήμων, χάρμα ναύτησιν μέγα, / θέρεος ἐν ὥρῃ, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται /  
βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορεομένη. / ταύτη μάλιστ' ἔοικε τοιαύτῃ γυνὴ / ὀργήν·  
φυὴν δὲ πόντος ἀλλοίην ἔχει. or to the *monostichos* by Menander 371 Jaekel  
Ἵσον ἐστὶν ὀργῇ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ γυνή. (for the *topos* “la donna è mobile” cf.  
Tosi 2011). Thus, the risk presented in our verses could be an erotic “shatter”,  
an emotional “storm” that might put in danger the smooth “sailing”, that is,  
“living”. Under this light, the invitation to seek safety inland on the mainland  
could mean the advice to stay out of trouble, being it a capricious woman or  
erotic upsets (for nautical images used as sexual metaphors in the Greek world,  
cf. Adams 1989, 167–170 and Henderson 1991, 49).

## 2. The elegy

1 χαίρετε συμπῶται ἄνδρες ὁμήλικες ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ

Χαίρετε: The imperative plural of χαίρω opening our verses falls in the usual use of the verb in greeting formulas cf. *e.g.* *Il.* I 334 χαίρετε κήρυκες Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, *Od.* I 123 χαῖρε, ξεῖνε, παρ' ἄμμι φιλήσεται and in the elegiac area *Ion.* fr. 27, 1f. W<sup>2</sup> χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε / ἡμῖν δὲ κρητὴρ' οἶνοχόοι θέραπες.

συμπῶται ἄνδρες: The receivers of the poet's greetings are the men taking part in the meeting with him (cf. *Hdt.* IV 95,3; *Ar. Lys.* 1227, *Ve.* 21). The phrase συμπῶται ἄνδρες makes immediately clear the symposial sphere, cf. *Plat. Symp.* 212e Ἄνδρες, χαίρετε· μεθύοντα ἄνδρα πάνυ σφόδρα δέξεσθε συμπότην and *Bacch.* fr. 20c, 6 Maehler συμπόταις ἄνδρεσσι π[έμπειν.

ὁμήλικες: The integration ὁμήλικες proposed by Schubart was accepted by all publishers. The compound, formed by a first part ὁμο- and by the noun ἥλιξ, is a quite common word since Homer, cf. *Il.* IX 53ff. Τυδεΐδῃ περὶ μὲν πολέμῳ ἔνι καρτερός ἐσσι, / καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλεν ἄριστος and also *Il.* XIII 431; XX 465; *Od.* III, 49. It is meaningful that, in *Il.* V 324f. δῶκε δὲ Διὶ πύλῳ ἐτάρῳ φίλῳ, ὃν περὶ πάσης / τίεν ὁμηλικίης ὅτι οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ἦδῃ, the word is matched with ἐταῖρος 'companion' (for the meaning of the word ἐταῖρος in the epic area, that is 'comrade-in-arms', 'fellow crewman', 'person belonging to the same *entourage*', see Caciagli 2011, 56-63.) The two words are similar and both suited to expressing membership in a small group, and are closely connected to the symposial sphere also: if ἐταιρεία is a bond among people, based on common purposes (that are not necessarily nor always political or military, cf. *e.g.* A. Porro 1996, XXIXff. and Chantraine 1956, 15 and 155ff. About the word as a technical term belonging to the symposial clique, cf. Caciagli 2011, 63-68. For the political meaning of the word ἐταιρεία and its progressive loss of that specific connotation, cf. F. Sartori, *Le eterie nella vita politica ateniese del VI e V sec. a. C.*, Roma 1957, 147 ff.), ὁμηλικία is one of the ties binding the members of the group together. However, the concept of

“the same age” is not to be understood in its strict sense in the symposial sphere, but rather as «appartenenza ad una medesima generazione» (Caciagli 2011, 94. About the relations among people the same age, see also R. Tosi, 1991, 298). Based on the well-known presence of παῖδες at symposial meetings, the conjecture ὁμόφρονες ‘agreeing’ has been proposed (Iscra-Marinçic 1983, 18). As *locus similis*, the Homeric Hymn to Hermes is suggested: *H. Merc.* 194f. χαροποὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο / τέσσαρες ἤύτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες. However, I find that this parallelism does not fit in the elegiac context. Except for the above-mentioned passage, the adjective recurs near words such as θυμός or λόγος (cf. *Il.* XXII 265; *H. Cer.* 432; *H. Merc.* 391; *Ar. Av.* 631 and also *Theogn.* 81 ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες *scil.* ἐταίρους). Moreover, the fact that young people or adolescents took part in the symposium, does not necessarily imply their belonging to the ἐταιρεία, just like it does not provide for their participation in the same activities or tasks: children usually have a subordinate position (cf. Alcman’s examples of παιδικά in *Alc. fr.* 296b; 346; 366; 368). Furthermore, in our verses, the poet is specifically addressing συμπόται ἄνδρες, that is a specific age group.

On the other hand, on the papyrus only ὁμ[ is clearly readable. It is, therefore, the first part of a compound adjective, certainly suitable to the symposial context, that features as fundamental aspects «quello dell’esiguità numerica dell’uditorio e quello della sua omogeneità» (Vetta 1995, XIV).

## 2 ἄρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀγ[αθόν]:

In order to understand the couplet, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between the middle aorist participle ἄρξάμενος and the present indicative τελέω, as well as the meaning of the phrases ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ (l.12) and εἰς ἀγαθόν. Ferrari 1989, 221 affirms that the interaction between ἄρξάμενος - τελέω «riproponga un’antitesi che era tradizionale nello stile innico e che in ambito elegiaco ritroviamo anche in *Theogn.* 1, 2 ἀρχόμενος οὐδ’ ἀποπαύμενος». However, if we are to explain the alleged anthithesis, *Theognis’* passage seems neither relevant nor functional to me: it is actually the

*incipit* of the first book of the anthology and the context is really different (Theogn. 1-4 ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σεῖο / λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαύομενος, / ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἐν τε μέσοισιν / ἀείσω where the poet says he intends to sing always (in honor, thus with the favor of) Apollo. In our passage, the use of the middle of the verb ἄρχω means 'to take the initiative', 'to begin' (it is often accompanied by prepositions, such as ἐκ or ἀπό, cf. Chantraine, *DELG* s.v., *GE* s.v.). The verb τελέω – denominative from τέλος 'arrival point', 'end', 'realization', 'scope' – covers a wide range of meanings, but it always keeps in the sphere of 'concluding', 'finishing'. Therefore, I do not think we can speak of an antithesis between the two verbs, but rather of a continuity, denoting an action that starts and is then brought to its conclusion.

### 3 χρὴ δ' ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν φίλοι ἄνδρες

It is usual to use the verb χρὴ together with δέ in order to start a precept section (in a strictly symposial context, cf. e.g. Xenoph. 1,13f. G.-P. χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας / εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις and Phoc. 14,1f. χρὴ δ' ἐν συμποσίῳ κυλίκων περινισομενάων / ἡδέα κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἶνοποτάζειν. G.-P. cf. also J. Kroll 1936, 90f., 95 n. 258, 211f., 212 n. 126.)

### 4 πρᾶγμα γελᾶν παίζειν χρηκαμένους ἀρετῇ

πρᾶγμα: the noun indicates a fact, a happening (unlike the deverbative πρᾶξις that indicates an action). This noun's meanings vary: 'business' both public and private, 'matter', 'judicial affair', 'thing of interest'. The translation «intrattenimento», proposed by Ferrari 1989, 227, does not seem really convincing: a symposium is a happening, an activity in which the guests take part, and not mere entertainment, that is a moment of pleasure, a show passively enjoyed.

γελᾶν: the actions of laughing, mocking, and raising a laugh, recommended in these lines (4-7), is typical of symposial entertainment (cf. Rosen 2015), but does not often recur in the elegiac context.



παίζειν: For symposial παίζειν cf. Ion. 1, 16 G.-P. πίνειν καὶ παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν where the poet greets Dionysus and asks to be allowed to drink, make jokes, and think about things conforming to the rules and also 2, 6f. Προκλεῖ Περσείδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν.

χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ: The verb χρᾶσθαι usually goes with an object in the dative case, in expressions such as, e.g. οἶνω χ 'to drink wine' (cf. *GES.v.*). The *iunctura* χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ is quite unusual in the poetic sphere; it is featured in Thuc. V 105,4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια νόμιμα πλείστα ἀρετῇ χρῶνται, Xen. *An.* II 1,12 Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωματῶν στερηθῆναι. and in two fragments *incertarum fabularum* by Euripides fr. 853, 1 K. τρεῖς εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ τὰς χρεῶν σ' ἀσκεῖν, τέκνον and fr. 1029, 4f. K. ἀρετὴ δ' ὅσῳ περ μᾶλλον ἂν χρῆσθαι θέλης, / τοσῶδε μείζων αὖξεται τελουμένη.

## 5 ἥδεσθαι τε συνόντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν

φ[λ]υαρεῖν: 'to say nonsense', 'to chatter'. The word does not belong to the lyric and elegiac tradition. It comes from the root flu-/\*fleü of the verb φλύω 'to bubble', 'to overflow', 'to overflow with words', 'to over-talk', just like the nouns φλύαξ 'jester' and φλθαρία 'nonsense', 'jest' and the adjective φλύαρος 'chatterbox', 'he who talks nonsense' (cf. *DELG s.v.*, *GES.v.*). In Hesych. π 570 H. \*παραλαλεῖ φλυαρεῖ, μὴ γινώσκων ἃ λαλεῖ the word is used to gloss the synonym featured in a family banquet scene in Menander fr. 186, 4 K-A. ἔργον <ἐστὶν> εἰς τρίκλινον συγγενείας εἰσπεσεῖν. / οὐ λαβὼν τὴν κύλικα πρῶτος ἄρχεται λόγου πατήρ, / καὶ παραινέσει πέπαιχεν, εἶτα μήτηρ δευτέρα, / εἶτα τήθη παραλαλεῖ τις, εἶτα βαρύφωνος γέρων, / τηθίδος πατήρ, ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον. Actually, the verb φλυαρεῖν and its derived words are widely used in comic production (cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Eq.* 544s., *Ran.* 202, *Vesp.* 85; Men. *Dysc.* 831s.). Its use in a symposial context is, therefore, really peculiar.

## 6 καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦτα οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν

σκώπτειν: ‘to make jokes’, ‘to jest’, ‘to mock’. Also this verb has no parallels in lyrics, but, just as the previous φλυαρεῖν, it is often used in comedy (cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Eq.* 524f., *Nub.* 350, *Ran.* 58, Men. *Dys.* 54; see also the pun on the word οὔτις in Eur. *Cycl.* 674s. For the use of this verb in a symposial context, cf. Hdt. II 173, 1 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων). Finally, it seems to me that this verse features an allusion to the (not only) friendly practice of raillery through funny comparisons, that is of σκώπτειν δι’ εἰκόνων. The collection of humorous comparisons registered in *P. Heid.* 1 190 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2752; LDAB 6959) seems to confirm such a practice during symposial meetings (on the symposial destination of the collection, see Kassel 1991, 419 and also Monaco 1966, 29-53; 73-89).

τοιαῦτα οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν: this expression features a shade of limitation, that the invitation to teasing is limited to the aspects and arguments that ‘raise a laugh’, maybe respecting the boundaries of good taste.

7 ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέεθω ἀκούωμεν [τε λε]γόντων:

σπουδὴ ἐπέεθω: the word σπουδὴ can mean ‘hurry’, ‘haste’, ‘care’ but also ‘attention’, ‘reliability’ and ‘a serious attention’. This is not a typical symposial word and it could perhaps be justified if we understand it as controversial or juxtaposing with what is preceding it.

8 ἐμὲ μέρει ἥδ’ ἀρετὴ κυμποκίου πέλεται:

ἐμὲ μέρει: the moment dedicated to seriousness is an orderly chain of interventions by each guest in turn. The round goes from left to right ἐπιδέξια. This is the situation featured, for example, in Plat. *Symp.* 177d συνδοκεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν, γένοιτ’ ἂν ἡμῖν ἐν λόγοις ἱκανὴ διατριβή· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι ἕκαστον ἡμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν ἔπαινον Ἑρωτος ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὥς ἂν δύνηται κάλλιστον.

ἥδ’ ἀρετὴ κυμποκίου πέλεται: both the use of the demonstrative ἥδε and the intentional internal echo of the word ἀρετή emphasize the contrast between the two attitudes described in the previous verses. In order that the ἀρετή of the symposium can take place, the sequence of serious interventions by the guests

must take place, too. A similar description of how a symposium must be run may be found in vv. 493-496 by Theognis ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες, / ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δὴν ἀπερυκόμενοι, / εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν / χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

9 τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν:

ποταρχοῦντος: although this word is a *hapax*, its meaning is instantly understandable and may be connected to the symposiarch's prerogative of deciding about both the amount and the mode of wine consumption (Von der Mühl, 1975). It is peculiar that, in the elegy, this noun is the only reference to the drinking action during the symposium.

πειθώμεθα: 'Let us be convinced', 'we obey', 'we take heed'. We find the same verb in the context of Alcibiades' entrance at the symposium in Plat. *Symp.* 214b Καὶ γὰρ σύ, φάναι τὸν Ἑρυξίμαχον· ἀλλὰ τί ποιῶμεν; Ὅτι ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς. δεῖ γάρ σοι πείθεσθαι.

10 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐλογίαν τε φέρειν:

ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν / ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν: the aforementioned norms for the proper execution of the symposium, all summarized in the pronoun ταῦτα, are called ἔργα 'facts', 'actions'. The genitive ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν characterizes the noun ἔργα as 'worthy actions, peculiar to talented men'.

The phrase ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί is featured in the war-related elegy by Tyrtaeus (cf. fr. 6, 1f. G.-P. τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα / ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧι πατρίδι μαρνάμενον, fr. 9, 10 and 20) where ἀγαθὸν alludes precisely to the qualities expressed on the battlefield. The adjective, in the phrase with ἀνὴρ, with the meaning of 'brave' in a military context, is also featured in Simonides, is referred to the fallen at Thermopylae (cf. Simon. 26, 6 *PMG*) and in *Carmina convivalia* (cf. 906, 2 *PMG* also Fabbro 1995, 182-185). In Theognis, on the other hand, the *iunctura* assumes a decidedly political and moral value (cf. Theogn. 635f. Ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔπεται γνώμη τε καὶ

αἰδώς / οἱ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι. and also 658, 971f.). I think an ethical value can be recognized in the phrase ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν of the papyrus, but it could also be a formula, that originally conveyed the values of the symposial clique and was then consolidated by use; on the other hand, it is not possible to reconstruct the socio-political context that produced the elegy.

εὐλογίαν τε φέρειν: The compound can have many meanings, ‘good language’, ‘plausible reasoning’ but also ‘praise’, ‘good fame’. In the word εὐλογίαν Ferrari sees a reference to the « λεγόντων del v. 7 e alla linea tematica di tutto il componimento» (Ferrari 1989, 224) and a consequent new semantics of the compound in the sense of ‘excellence in saying’ (cf. Plat. *Rp.* 400d-e), that is the ability of speaking well, without exceeding when joking and facing serious conversations as well, and he translates «questo si addice a uomini egregi e questo produce l’eccellenza nel conversare» (Ferrari 1989, 227). However, I think that the value of ‘praise’, ‘eulogy’ (cf. Pind. *O.* 5, 24 e *N.* 4,5), proposed by Iscra-Marinçiq, who translates «queste sono infatti azioni di uomini valenti e procurano lode» (Iscra-Marinçiq 1983, 19), is not to be excluded: good fame is actually an entitlement of ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί.

Wilamowitz’s amendment of φέρειν featured in the papyrus in φέρει was accepted by all publishers except for West (*vd.* apparatus), who, however, does not motivate his choice. It is probably a mistake of attraction, perhaps due to ἐστιν of the preceding verse and to the same φέρειν in v. 6.

## Conclusions

The study conducted in these pages was prompted by the need to reconsider the previous editions of the so-called Songs of Elephantine in the light of new materials and new studies available to us. As a matter of fact, it is my opinion that from the *editio princeps* by Wilamowitz up to the most recent editions and contributions, the perspective approach to the text stored in our papyrus should make use of the important progress that has been made in various classical disciplines areas.

Extensive researches on the symposium have thoroughly dealt with all aspects relating to this establishment, that is a real cornerstone of Greek culture: the archaeological one, approaching the study of vase representations and of the places used in meetings unearthed by excavations. The social-anthropological one, showing the functions of the symposium during the history of the Greek world, making important comparisons with similar cultures as well. Finally, the study of direct and indirect traditional texts, that allows us to form an idea as to exactly what were the texts that circulated within the symposium and what were the methods of their use.

Another important impetus was exerted by the growing interest, especially in recent years, towards the New Music and the literary genres involving the so-called “musical revolution”. To Wilamowitz we owe the recognition of an obscure and *gryphic* style in the verses recorded on our papyrus. Following Wilamowitz’s intuition, the investigation of the diction of the Songs of Elephantine has been deepened in the light of recent studies that have extensively analyzed the relationship between technical and instrumental innovations, the melodic experimentalism, and their influence on the vocabulary used by the poets of the “new dithyramb”.

Finally, the discovery of new materials on papyrus and in-depth studies of documents similar to *P. Berol.* 13270 – from the point of view of the

production, of the writing, of the content – are a key tool to increase our understanding of a text that, since its first edition, has never ceased to arouse interest.

The conclusions of this work are, therefore, the result of a study, that made use of a broad spectrum of resources and materials, in order to provide an edition of the Songs of Elephantine as complete and comprehensive as possible.

The papyrus sheet used to wrap the package of documents recovered in 1907 by Otto Rubensohn is an important witness both of the practice and the procedures for putting together symposial anthologies for private use, and of typologies of texts intended for symposial meetings of the Hellenistic period.

From the point of view of the artifact, it would seem to be a fragment of a larger roll which contained, at least in its previous portion, other text. It is impossible to say whether it is the end part of the roll or if it belongs to an internal sequence, broken or cut off on purpose and then re-used in order to wrap the documents. As far as the process of writing the text column is concerned, the discrepancies in the writing have always been attributed to the intervention of two scribes. However, we saw how the hypothesis of two hands does not seem to find any reasonable ground neither if we suppose an alternation between teacher and student, nor if we assume that each scribe was responsible for separate passages. This was largely due to comparisons with other papyrus documents that indeed recorded neat and logical alternations between scribes. Through the general analysis of writing and the observation of the writing pattern of individual letters, an alternative hypothesis has been advanced here. It would explain the differences in the writing of the text column: if we assume that what changed was not the hand of the writer, but the tool used for writing instead, the lack of logic in the alternation of a stronger and a more subtle writing can be fully explained by the rubbing away of the *calamos* or by the amount of ink spent. This seems to me the most economical explanation and perhaps the most plausible.

As for the preserved text, we saw how the already traditional subdivision of the first eleven lines into three *skolia* and the interpretation of the three words in margin as their titles, pose some difficulties in terms of both the *mise en page*

of the text and on the level of internal consistency of the verses. The analysis of the text I have proposed actually makes it apparent that there is a significant gap in content and style between line 8 and the following ones. A first section is configured as the beginning of a women's chorus song, where an extensive symposial metaphor is employed, the announcement of the epic subject on which the song will focus, and a statement of novelty. The lexicon – characterized by an elaborate style, highly allusive, and sometimes metaphorical – and the dialectal aspect used in the first part of the verses seem to be compatible with the style of the choral lyric of the VI-V century B.C., since numerous Pindaric, Bacchylidean, and Ibycean motifs can be detected. A second section features the (probably metaphoric) image of a seafaring ship. Moreover, those verses are characterized by a less riddling diction.

If on the basis of thematic coherence, it is not possible to identify any continuity between the sections I identified in the first eleven lines of the text column, it is, however, possible to understand what is the thread connecting them: it is highly probable that the choral singing, of which the verses in *P. Berol.* 13270 are an extract, was not originally composed for a symposium and that this section of verses has been anthologized in virtue of the long symposial metaphor featured by the first few lines of text, which is well suited to be recited during a banquet, and lends itself well to subsequent performances. The following verses feature an image that, if metaphorical, is characterized precisely by its adaptability to different areas, all important to symposia. Therefore, the ratio behind the compilation of the anthology would not seem to be consistency or completeness of the collected songs, but rather the purpose of the product itself, i.e. an anthology of texts for symposial use (or reuse).

Style and language are not enough to establish whether the two identified sections are *excerpta* from the same poem or have independent origins. However, we can assume that the person who compiled (or copied) the anthology meant to obtain a collection of texts suitable both for different types of symposial intervention and probably for different moments of the symposial meeting.

In this light, the symposial elegy under the *paragraphos* seals the collection of texts *P. Berol.* 13270 not only from the point of view of a formal *mise en page* but also of content. A meta-symposial elegy, that encompasses the rules for proper conduct at the symposium, would seem to be a suitable conclusion to an anthology of symposial texts. Moreover, we saw how the elegiac lines are not necessarily classifiable in a unitary, coherent and complete composition, but rather correspond to a logical assembly of distinct symposial interventions, a *collage* of several voices, that, at some point of the tradition, were coagulated to form the poem that closes our collection. Similarly, I would stress how all the texts featured in *P. Berol.* 13270 constitute non-homogeneous collection of songs that, at some point in their tradition, have been assembled to form a symposial repertoire for private use, characterized by thematic, formal, and even palaeographic inconsistencies.

The analysis conducted has identified the various genres, registers, and proveniences of “voices” gathered in the papyrus, recognizing their symposial tuning.



## Bibliography

### 1. Editions

- WILAMOWITZ 1907 U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Skolien und Elegie*, «BKT» V/2 Nr. XV (1907) 56-63.
- POWELL 1925 J.U. P., *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925, 190-192.
- MANTEUFFEL 1930 G. M., *De Opusculis Graecis Aegypti e Papyris, Ostracis Lapidibusque collectis*, Warsaw 1930, 174-176.
- EDMONDS 1940 J.M. E., *Lyra Graeca* III, Cambridge 1940, 580f.
- DIEHL 1942 E. D., *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Lipsia 1942, 189f.
- PAGE 1950 D. L. P., *Select Papyri*, III, *Literary Papyri Poetry*, Cambridge 1950, 386-390; 444.
- PAGE 1962 D.L. P., *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962, 482.
- CASAGRANDE 1983 Cinzia C., *Poesia conviviale in un papiro di Elefantina*, «QFC» IV (1983) 14-17.
- FABBRO 1983 Elena F., *Poesia conviviale in un papiro di Elefantina*, «QFC» IV (1983) 6-13.
- ISCRA-MARINÇIĆ 1983 Eleonora I.-Nadja M., *Poesia conviviale in un papiro di Elefantina*, «QFC» IV (1983) 18-21.
- FERRARI 1989 F. F., P. Berol. 13270: *i canti di Elefantina*, «SCO» XXXVIII (1989) 181-227.
- GERBER 1990 D. G., *Greek Elegiac Poetry*, London-Cambridge 1990, 488f.
- PESTMAN 1990 P.W. P., *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden-New York-København-Köln 1990, 488f.

- BRAVO 1997  
B. B., *Un ditirambo misconosciuto (P. Berol. 13270) e ancora gli antesteria*, in *Pannychis e simposio. Feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto*, Pisa-Roma 1997, 43–99.
- PORTEN-FARBER 2011<sup>2</sup>  
B. P.-J.J. F., *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, Leiden 2011<sup>2</sup>.
- PORDOMINGO 2013  
Francisca P., *Antologías de época helenística en papiro*, Firenze 2013.

## 2. Studies

- ADAMS 1982  
J.N. A., *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982.
- ALONI 1990  
A. A., *Proemio e funzione proemiale nella poesia greca arcaica*, «AION» XII (1990), 99 – 130.
- ANGELI BERNARDINI 1977  
Paola A. B., *A proposito di un nuovo volume sulle immagini e metafore marine in Pindaro*, «QUCC» XXV (1977) 133 – 140.
- ANDERSON 1997  
M. J. A., *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art*, Oxford 1997.
- ATHANASSAKI 2009  
Lucia A., *Narratology, Deixis and Performance of Choral Lyric. On Pindar's First Pithian Ode* in Grethlein – Rengakos 2009, 241-273.
- BARKER 1995  
A. B., *Heterophonia and Poikilia: Accompaniments to Greek Melody*, in Gentili – Perusino 1995, 41-60.

- BARKER 2004 A. B., *Transforming the Nightingale: Aspects of the Athenian Musical Discourse in the Late Fifth Century*, in Murray – Wilson 2004, 185-204.
- BARTOL 2000 Kristina B., *Ion of Chios and the King* (fr. 2, 1-3 G.-P.), «Mnemosyne» s. 4, 53, 2000, 185-192.
- BARTOL 2001 Kristina B., *Elementi innici nell'elegia greca arcaica e classica*, «AION» 23 (2001), 9-26.
- BASTIANINI 1995 G. B., *Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione*, in Capasso 1995, 21–41.
- BERARDI-LISI-MICALELLA 2009 Elisabetta B.-F.L. L.-Dina M., *Poikilia: variazioni sul tema*, Acireale-Roma 2009.
- C. BORGES-SAMPSON 2012 Cassandra B.-C. M. S., *New Literary Papyri from the Michigan Collection: Mythographic Lyric and a Catalogue of Poetic First Lines. New Texts from Ancient Cultures*, Ann Arbor 2012.
- BORNMANN 1952 F. B., *Kenning in greco?*, «Athenaeum» XXX (1952) 85-103.
- BOWRA 1961<sup>2</sup> C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry: From Alcman to Simonides*, Oxford 1961<sup>2</sup>.
- BOYS–STONES-GRAZIOSI 2009 G. B.S.-B. G., *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, Oxford 2009.
- BORZA 1983 E.N. B., *The Symposium at Alexander's Court in Ancient Macedonia III*, Thessaloniki 1983, 45–55.
- BRASHEAR 1993 W. M. B., *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, «Xenia 34», Konstanz 1993 .

- BREMMER 1997 J. B., *Jokes, Jokers and Jokebooks in Ancient Greek Culture*, in Bremmer-Roodenburg 1997.
- BREMMER-ROODENBURG 1997 J. B.-H. R., *A Cultural History of Humor: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, Cambridge 1997.
- BURTON 1992 J.B. B., *The Function of the Symposium Theme in Theocritus' Idyll 14*, «GRBS» XXXIII (1992), 228–244.
- CALAME 2001 C. C., *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2001.
- CANTARELLA-TÜHR 1997 E. C.-G. T., *Symposion 1997. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Altafiumara 1997.
- CAMERON 1995 A. C., *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton 1995.
- CAPASSO 1995 M. C. *Atti del V Seminario Internazionale di Papirologia*, «PLup» IV 1995.
- CAPASSO 2005 M. C., *Introduzione alla papirologia*, Bologna 2005.
- CAPRA 2009 A. C., *Lyric Poetry*, in Boys-Stones-Graziosi 2009, 451–468.
- CAROLI 2007 M. C., *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio*, Bari 2007.
- CASSIO-MUSTI-ROSSI 2000 A.C. C.-D. M.-L.E. R., *Synaulía. Cultura musicale in Grecia e contatti mediterranei*, Napoli 2000.
- CAVALLO 2005 G. C., *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*, Firenze 2005, 11–16.

- CAVALLO-MAEHLER 2008 G. C. – G. M., *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin – New York 2008.
- CERRI 1976 G. C., *Frammento di teoria musicale e ideologia simposiale in un distico di Teognide (v. 1041 ss.)*, «QUCC» XXII (1976), 25-38.
- CHANTRAINE 1965 P. C., *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris 1956.
- CLAUSS- CUYPERS 2010 J.J. C.-M. C., *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Malden MA-Oxford 2014.
- COLESANTI 2011 G. C., *Questioni Teognidee. La genesi simposiale di un corpus di elegie*, Roma 2011.
- COMOTTI 1989 G. C., *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, Baltimore 1989.
- CONDELLO 2009–2010 F. C., *Osservazioni sul sigillo di Teognide*, «Incontri triestini di Filologia Classica» IX (2009-2010) 65–152.
- CONDELLO 2016. F. C., *L'elegia di Elefantina (adesp. el. 27 W.<sup>2</sup> = adesp. 12 G.-P<sup>2</sup>) carme unitario o catena simposiale?* «Paideia» LXXXI (2016) 29-50.
- CRIBIORE 1996 Raffaella C., *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996.
- CRISCI 2000 E. C., *I più antichi libri greci. Note bibliologiche e paleografiche su rotoli papiracei del IV-III a. C.*, «S&C» 23, 2000.
- CRUSIUS 1907 O. C., «Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland» LVII 41 (1907) 1310.

CSAPO 2004	E. C., <i>The Politic of the New Music</i> in Murray-Wilson 2004, 207–248.
D'ANGOUR 2006	A. D'A., <i>The New Music – So What's New?</i> In Goldhill-Osborne 2006, 264–283.
DAVIES 1986	M. D., <i>The Motiv of the πρώτος εὑρετής</i> in Alcman, «ZPE» 65 (1986) 25–27.
DEBIASI 2004	A. D., <i>L'epica perduta</i> , Roma 2004.
DEGANI- BURZACCHINI 2005 <sup>2</sup>	E. D- G. B., <i>Lirici Greci</i> , Bologna 2005 <sup>2</sup> .
DEL CORSO 2005	L. D. C., <i>La lettura nel mondo ellenistico</i> , Bari 2005.
DESTRÉE-P. MURRAY 2015	P. Destrée-Penelope Murray, <i>A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics</i> , Oxford 2015.
DOBROV 1997	G. D., <i>From Criticism to Mimesis: Comedy and the New Music</i> , in Zimmermann 1997, 49–74.
DOBROV 2002	G. D., <i>Μάγειρος ποιητής: Language and Character in Antiphanes</i> in Willi A. 2002, 169–190.
DOVER 2007 <sup>16</sup>	K.J. D., <i>Plato: Symposium</i> , Cambridge 2007 <sup>16</sup> .
EASTERLING-KNOX 1985	P. E.-B. K., <i>The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature</i> , Cambridge 1985.
ERCOLES 2013	M. E., <i>Stesicoro: le testimonianze antiche</i> , Bologna 2013.
ESPOSITO 2005	Elena E., <i>Il Fragmentum Grenfellianum</i> (P. Dryton. 50), Bologna 2005.

- FABBRO 1995  
Elena F., *Carmina Convivalia Attica*, Roma 1995.
- FERRARI 2000  
Gloria F., *The Ilioupersis in Athens*, «HSCP» 100 (2000) 119–150.
- FISHER 1988  
N. F., *Greek associations, symposia and clubs*, in Grant-Kitzinger 1988, 1167–97.
- FOHALLE 1969  
R. F., *Mélanges de linguistique, de philologie et de méthodologie des langues anciennes*, Gembloux 1969.
- FORD 2013  
A. F., *The Poetics of Dithyramb* in Kowalzig – Wilson 2013, 313–331.
- FRANZ 1993  
E. G. F., *Einführung in die Archivkunde*, Darmstadt 1993.
- FÜHRER 1971  
R. F., *Zu P.Oxy. 2803 (Stesichoros)*, «ZPE» 7 (1971), 262–264.
- GAGOS-HYATT 2007  
T. G.-A. H., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007*, American Studies in Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2010.
- GALAVOTTI 2014<sup>2</sup>  
E. G., *I Miti Rovesciati*, 2014<sup>2</sup>.
- GENTILI-PERUSINO 1995  
B. G.-Franca P., *Mousike. Metrica, ritmica e musica greca in memoria di Giovanni Comotti*, Pisa – Roma 1995.
- GENTILI-PRETAGOSTINI 1988  
B. G.-R. P., *La musica in Grecia*, Bari 1988.
- GENTILI 2006<sup>4</sup>  
B. G., *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica*, Milano 2006<sup>4</sup>.
- GERBER 1997  
D.E. G., *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1997.

- GIANOTTI 1975 G.F. G., *Per una poetica Pindarica*, Torino 1975.
- GILDERSLEEVE 1903 B.L. G., *Brief Mention*, «AJPh» 27 (1903), 222–238.
- GOLDHILL-OSBORNE 2006 S. G.-R. O., *Rethinking Revolutions Through Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 2006.
- GOSTOLI 1990 Antonia G., *Terpander*, Roma 1990.
- GOW-PAGE 1964–1965. A.S.F. G.-D.L. P., *Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1964–1965.
- GRANT-KITZINGER 1988 M. G.-R. K., *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, New York 1988.
- GRETHLEIN-RENGAKOS 2009 J. G.-A. R., *Narratology and Interpretation: The Content of Narrative Form in Ancient Literature*, Berlin 2009.
- GRONEWALD-DANIEL 2004<sup>1</sup> M. G.-R.W. D., *Ein neuer Sappho-Papyrus*, «ZPE» 147 (2004), 1–8.
- GRONEWALD-DANIEL<sup>2</sup> M. G.-R.W. D., *Nachtrag zum neuen Sappho-Papyrus*, «ZPE» 149 (2004), 1–4.
- GRZYBEK 1989 E. G., *Die Griechische Konkubine und Ihre "Mitgift"*, «ZPE» 76 (1989), 206–12.
- HAMILTON 1990 R. H., *The Pindaric Dithyramb*, «Harvard Studies in Classical Philology» XCII (1952) 211–222.
- HARRISON 1912 Jane H., *Themis. Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1912.
- HENDERSON 1991 J. H., *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, New York-Oxford 1991.



- HORDERN 2002 J. H. H., *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus*, Oxford 2002.
- IERANÒ 1997 G. I., *Il Ditirambo di Dioniso*, Pisa-Roma 1997.
- A. JÖRDENS 1997 A. J., *Papyri und private Archive. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur papyrologischen Terminologie*, in E. Cantarella-G. Tühr 1997, 253–268.
- KADLETZ 1998 E. K., *Review of Bravo 1997*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 1998.11.37.
- KENYON 1903 F. G. K., *Review of Wilamowitz Timotheos, Die Perser*, «EHR» 18. 72 (1903) 762–764.
- KENYON 1919 F. G. K., *Greek Papyri and Their Contribution to Classical Literature*, «JHS» XXXIX (1919) 1–15.
- KASSEL 1991 R. K., *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin-New York 1991, 418–421.
- KIDD 1997 D. A. K., *Aratus, Phaenomena*, Cambridge 1997.
- KOWALZIG -WILSON 2014 B. K.-P. W., *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford 2013.
- KNOX 1985 B. K. *Euripides* in Easterling-Knox 1985, 316–339.
- KROLL 1936 J. K., *Theognis-Interpretationen*, Leipzig 1936.
- KWAPISZ 2008 J. K., *Muse vs. Muses in the P. Berol. 13270*, «ZPE» 164 (2008), 45–46.

- KWAPISZ-PETRAIN-SZYMANSKY 2012 J.K.-D.P.-M.S., *The Muse at Play. Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry*, Berlin 2012.
- LARSON 2001 J. L., *Greek Nymphs - Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford 2001.
- LEVEN 2012 Pauline L.V. "You Make Less Sense Than a (new) Dithyramb": *Sociology of a Riddling Style* in Kwapisz-Petrain-Szymansky 2012.
- LEVEN 2014 Pauline. L.V., *The Many-Headed Muse*, Cambridge 2014.
- LIPPERT-SCHUNTELEIT 2005 Sandra L.-M. S. (Edd.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11 bis 13 Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, Wiesbaden 2005.
- LUPPE 1977 W. L., *Rückseitentitel auf Papyrusrollen* «ZPE» 27 (1977), 89–99.
- LUZ 2010 C. L., *Technopaignia, Formspiele in der griechischen Dichtung*, Leiden-Boston 2010.
- MA 2007 J. M., *A Horse from Teos: Epigraphical Notes on the Ionian-Hellespontine Association of Dionysiac Artists*, in Wilson 2007, 215–245.
- MALTOMINI 2001 F. M., Τίς πρὸς *A proposito delle due mani di P. Berol. 13270*, «SCO» XLVII/3 (2001) 581–582.
- MARZI 1988 G. M., *Il "Decreto" degli Spartani contro Timoteo* in Gentili-Pretagostini 1988, 264–272.

- McNAMEE 1992 Kathleen M., *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Papyri*, Bruxelles 1992.
- McNAMEE 2007 Kathleen M., *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, New Haven 2007.
- MONACO 1966 G. M., *Paragoni burleschi degli antichi*, Palermo 1966.
- MONTEVECCHI 1988 Orsolina M., *La Papirologia. Ristampa riveduta e corretta con addenda*, Milano 1988.
- MORRISON 1947/1948 J.S. M., *Notes on Certain Nautical Terms and on Three Passages in I.G. ii. 1963*, «CQ» XLI/XLII (1947/1948) 122–135.
- MUGRIDGE 2010 A. M., *Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two “Spectra” in Greek Handwriting in Gagos – Hyatt (edd.) 2007*, 573–580.
- MUHS 2001 B. M., *Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis*, «JESHO» 44 (2001), 1–21.
- MURRAY 1980 O. M., *Early Greece*, Cambridge, Mass. 1980.
- MURRAY 1990 O. M., *Symptotica. A Symposium on the Symposion*, Oxford 1990.
- MURRAY-WILSON 2004 P. M.-P. W., *Music and the Muses*, Oxford 2004.
- MUSTI 2000 D. M., *Musica greca tra aristocrazia e democrazia*, in Cassio-Musti-Rossi 2000, 7–55.
- NAGY 1996 G. N., *Poetry as performance. Homer and Beyond*, Cambridge 1996.
- NANNINI 1988 Simonetta N., *Simboli e metafore nella poesia simposiale greca*, Roma 1988.

- NANNINI-GIAVATTO 2008 Simonetta N.-A. G., *Platone. Il Simposio*, Trento 2008.
- NESSELRATH 1990 H.G. N., *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin 1990.
- OHLERT 1979 K. O., *Rätsel und Rätselspiele der alten Griechen*, Hildesheim-New York 1979.
- PADUANO 1973 G. P., *La città degli Uccelli e le ambivalenze del nuovo sistema etico-politico*, «SCO» XXII (1973) 115–144.
- PAGE 1951 D.L. P., *Ibycus' Poem in Honour of Polycrates*, «Aegyptus» XXXI (1951) 158–172.
- PARSONS 1987 P.J. P., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LIV, London 1987.
- PARSONS-MAEHLER-MALTOMINI 2015 P.J. P.-H. M.-Francesca M., *The Vienna Epigrams Papyrus*, Berlin-München-Boston 2015.
- PASQUALI 1964 G. P., *Orazio Lirico*, Firenze 1964.
- PELLIZER 1983 E. P., *Della zuffa simpotica*, in Vetta 1983, 29–41.
- PERNIGOTTI-F. MALTOMINI 2002 C. P.-Francesca M., *Morfologie ed impieghi delle raccolte simposiali: lineamenti di storia di una tipologia libraria antica*, «MD» XLIX (2002) 5–84.
- PÉRON 1974 J. P., *Les images maritimes de Pindare*, Paris 1974.
- POLAND 1909 F. P., *Geschichte des griechische Vereineswesen*, Leipzig 1909.

- PORRO 1996  
 Antonietta P., *Alceo. Frammenti*, Firenze 1996.
- POSNER 1972  
 E. P., *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972.
- REITER 2005  
 F. R., *Symposia in Tebtynis-Zu den griechischen Ostraka aus den heuen Grabungen*, in Lippert-Schentuleit (Edd.) 2005, 131–140.
- REITZENSTEIN 1893  
 R. R., *Epigramm und Skolion. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alexandrinischen Dichtung*, Giessen 1893.
- ROBERTS-SKEAT-NOCK 1936  
 C. R.-T.C. S.-A.D. N., *The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos*, «Harvard Theological Review» 29, I (1936) 39–88.
- ROCCONI 2003  
 Eleonora R., *Le parole delle Muse, la formazione del lessico tecnico musicale nella Grecia antica*, Roma 2003.
- ROSCHER 1909–1915  
 W.H. R., *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* IV 660 Leipzig 1909–1915.
- ROSEN 2015  
 R.M. R., *Greek Symposiarchs on Laughter*, in Destrée-P. Murray 2015, 457–461.
- RÖSLER 1980  
 W. R., *Dichter und Gruppe*, München 1980.
- ROSSI 1983  
 L.E. R., *Feste religiose e letteratura: Stesicoro o dell'epica alternativa* «Orpheus» I (1983) 5–31.
- RUBENSOHN 1907  
 O. R., (Ed.) *Elephantine-Papyri*, Berlin 1907.
- SADURSKA 1964  
 Anna S., *Les tables iliaques*, Warszawa, 1964.

- SCHMITT 1967 R. S., *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*, Wiesenbaden 1967.
- SCHMITT-PANTEL 1992 Pauline S.-M., *La Cité au Banquet. Histoire des Repas Publics dans les Cités Graeques*, Roma 1992.
- SCHNEIDER 1967 C. S., *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, München 1967.
- SCHNEIDEWIN 1833 F.W. S., *Ibyci Rhegini carminum reliquiae*, Göttingen 1833.
- SCHUBART 1925 W. S., *Griechische Paläographie*, München 1925.
- SEIDER 1970 W. S., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Band II, Stuttgart 1970.
- SISTI 1967 F. S. *L'ode a Policrate. Un caso di recusatio in Ibico*, «QUCC» 4 (1967) 59–79.
- SNELL 1924 B. S., *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie*, Berlin 1924.
- STEINER 1986 Deborah S., *The Crown of Songs: Metaphore in Pindar*, London 1986.
- STROOTMAN 2010 R. S., *Literature and the Kings* in Clauss-Cuyperus 2010, 30–45.
- STROOTMAN 2014 R. S., *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empire*, Edinburgh 2014.
- TAIT 1988 W.J. T., *Rush and Reed: The Pen of Egyptian and Greek Scribes*, «Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology» II Athens 1988, 477–481.

- TARN 1905 W.W. T., *The Greek Warship*, «JHS» XXV (1905) 137–156.
- THIHER 1999 A. T., *Revels in Madness*, Ann Arbor 1999.
- THOMPSON 1912 E.M. T., *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, New York 1912.
- THORNTON 1997 B.S. T., *Eros. The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality*, Boulder-Oxford 1997.
- TOMLINSON 1970 R.A. T., *Ancient Macedonian Symposia*, in *Ancient Macedonia I*, Thessaloniki 1970, 308-315.
- TOSI 1991 R. T., *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche*, Milano 1991.
- TOSI 2011 R. T., *La donna è mobile e altri studi di intertestualità proverbiale*, Bologna 2011.
- TURNER 1980 E.G. T., *Ptolemaic Bookhands and Lille Stesichorus*, «Scrittura e Civiltà» IV (1980).
- TURNER 1987 E.G. T., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, a c. Di P.J. Parsons, London 1987<sup>2</sup>.
- TURNER 1994 E.G. T., *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, Bruxelles 1978 (trad. it. Firenze 1994).
- USENER 1887 H. U., *Epicurea*, Stuttgart 1887.
- VETTA 1983 M. V. (ed.), *Poesia e Simposio nella Grecia antica. Guida storica e critica*, Roma-Bari 1983.
- VON DER MÜHLL 1975 P. v. d. M., *Das griechische Symposion*, in Wyss 1975, 483–505.

- VÖSSIG 2004 K. V., *Mensa Regia. Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Keiser*, «Beiträge zur Altertumskunde» 193 (2004).
- WAERN 1951 Ingrid W., *Ges ostea. The kenning in pre-Christian Greek poetry*, Uppsala 1951.
- WALLACE 2009 R.W. W., *Plato, Poikilia, and New Music in Athens* in Berardi-Lisi-Micalella 2009.
- WELCKER 1844 F.G. W., *Kleine Schriften zur Griechischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Bonn 1844.
- WEST 1966 M. W., *Conjectures on 46 Greek Poets* «Philologus» 110 (1996), 147–168.
- WEST 1971 M. W., *Further light on Stesichorus' "Iliou Persis"*, «ZPE» 7 (1971), 262–264.
- WEST 1975 M. W., *Some Lyric Fragments Reconsidered*, «CQ» 25 (1975), 307–309.
- WEST 1992 M. W., *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992.
- WILAMOWITZ 1900 U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*, Berlin 1900.
- WILCKEN 1924 U. W., *Lückenbüßer*, «APF» VII (1924) 66.
- WILSON 2007 P. W., *The Greek Theatre and Festivals: Documentary Studies*, Oxford 2007.
- WINNICZUCK 1969 Lidia W., *Griphus, scirpus, aenigma* in Fohalle 1969, 191–192.
- WYSS 1974 B. W., *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften*, Basel 1975.



- YATROMANOLAKIS 2008 D. Y., *Music, Cultural Politics, and Hellenistic Anthologies*, «Hellenica» 58 (2008), 237–255.
- ZALATEO 1961 G. Z., *Papiri scolastici* «Aegyptus» 1961, 160–235.
- ZIMMERMANN 1992 B. Z., *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung*, Göttingen 1992.
- ZIMMERMANN 1997 B. Z., *Griechisch–römische Komödie und Tragödie*, II, Stuttgart 1997.